Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-008 *12 January 1995*

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Reaction to U.S. Official's Visit Examined

AU1101114595 Tirana POPULLI PO in Albanian 8 Jan 94 p 2

[Commentary by B. Sejdarasi: "How Will the U.S. Initiative Be Received in Tirana?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It seems the extremely complicated problems of the Balkan countries have become a priority in U.S. foreign policy. We are again seeing attention focusing on the repeated history of aggravated inter-Balkan relations, this time in proportions extending beyond the Balkan countries. After the "Troika" initiative, followed by a visit by U.S. President Bill Clinton's special adviser to the Balkans and Turkey, the U.S. leadership is again striving to replace frayed relations with a real climate of trust and peaceful relations among the autochthonous peoples of the southern Balkans and east Mediterranean. Known as an experienced official and praised as an encouraging element in creating future platforms for solutions to political problems, the U.S. assistant secretary of state embarked several days ago on an itinerary that had been planned since last November but was seen to be more appropriate at the turn of the year. The high-ranking U.S. official's "stations" and the problems apparently preoccupying the world's leadership are already known.

Athens and Cyprus are the first stops, followed by Tirana, Ankara, and Skopje. The trip, if it does not remain simply a political excursion, is expected, despite existing well-known contradictions, to create new political attitudes in bilateral and multilateral relations. However, although the U.S. official was faced with intransigent positions in Athens—especially by the present opposition, represented by the leader of "Nea Demokratia," Mr. Miltiathis Evert—it is difficult to say that he will also find determined policy regarding the position towards Greece in Tirana. The fact is that in Tirana there is at present a political silence, a sort of winter sleep—though the head of Greek diplomacy, Carolous Papoulias is expected to come for a visit.

The moves Athens can expect from Albanian diplomacy have been signaled now in certain routine, politically colorless statements of the kind "we are for good relations and mutual respect with Greece," or "we are open to talks, either bilateral or with the mediation of a third party," etc., which, as usual, bring nothing new to the diplomatic field. Mr. Papoulias' warning to journalists not to hurry, and to wait until an article was published in the Athens daily TA NEA, made Athens unwilling to be the initiator of normalizing bilateral relations with Albania. The moves by Albanian President Berisha, who released one of the convicted Greek-speaking Albanians from prison and proposed the signing of a bilateral treaty of friendship and cooperation between Albania and Greece, seem not to be not enough for our southern neighbor. The Greek reaction is therefore lukewarm. Greece has remained disillusioned by the promises of Italian Foreign Minister Martino, who, after visiting Albania, declared that the "problem of the five Greek-speaking Albanians will be resolved in favor of the Greek side."

It is these positions, frequently mentioned in Athens and certainly put by them to the new U.S. guest, with which the Albanian diplomats found themselves confronted in their meeting with the U.S. assistant secretary of state. However, the official was briefed on why the "Omonia" file remained untouched for so long in the Supreme Court and, if acquainted with the message of friendship that this court sent to Greece on the occasion of the release of a Greek citizen from prison, he would then perhaps have to make certain comparisons.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to tell now how the U.S. initiative will be received in Tirana, whether a satisfactory solution will be found for the conflicting parties, and if the way will be paved for the Greek Foreign Minister to come to Tirana. The conditions set by the letter are already known. However, even if one of the solutions is acceptable for Tirana, it will first have to solve its internal problems in connection primarily with the accused chairman of the Supreme Court, and then scrutinize the much debated "Omonia" file, which has been passed to the chairman [words illegible].

It remains to believe that the visitor from the United States, will hear the same things that others before him have heard, and leave Albania as a visitor who has learned something from his visit to this country.

Police Shut Down 20 Gas Stations for Smuggling

AU1101191895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Jan 95

[Report from Shkoder by Kujtim Dracini]

[FBIS Translated Text] In implementation of Council of Ministers Decision No. 541 dated 14 November 1994, and the interior minister's Order No. 270 on tightening further the embargo against the former Yugoslavia, the finance police of Shkoder district, in cooperation with the order police, have closed 20 gasoline stations that were engaging in private activity along the border with Montenegro.

[Begin recording of Abdyl Matoshi, chief of the Shkoder Finance Police] [Words indistinct] in these points [words indistinct] is Hani i Hotit in the direction of Shkoder city and areas of Drec-Morican, Velipoje, and Dajc. This Council of Ministers decision will be effective as long as the embargo exists. [end recoding]

This is one of the strictest measures undertaken thus far by the district police in cooperation with the order police. This measure has minimized the smuggling of gasoline toward Montenegro.

Muslim Organization Evicted From Headquarters

95P20355A

[FBIS Media Note] The Albanian Socialist Party daily, ZERI I POPULLIT, reported on 20 December that the

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Muslim Community organization had been evicted the previous day from its Tirana headquarters. According to the paper, the owner of the building, accompanied by the police, evicted Muslim Community employees from their offices and put their office equipment on the street. The newspaper blamed the eviction on the government's failure to enact a law on the return of property to religious communities. According to ZERI I POPULLIT, the Muslim Community had attempted to obtain office space in the premises of the former National Library in Tirana, which it had previously owned, but the mayor of Tirana had not complied with Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi's order making the building available to the Muslim Community. The paper maintained that, although the directors of the Muslim Community did not blame the owner of the building, the "highest courts" in the country should not have "allowed the Community to be put out on the street on a cold winter's day." Such actions, the paper opined, do not add "to the credit of the president or the government, which should have more respect for and a greater obligation to the religious communities in Albania."

The ruling Democratic Party's daily, RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE, in its 22 December issue, interviewed the head of the Albanian Muslim Community, Haxhi Hafiz Sabri Koci, with the aim of "finding out the truth" about the event. Koci said that the Muslim Community had set up its headquarters in the building in 1991 with the permission of the government. He added: "Although their ownership had not been recognized, we paid [the owners of the building] 100 U.S. dollars a month and, later, at their insistence, 500 U.S. dollars a month. Recently, because of a shortage of funds, we have not made regular payments, but we will make payments as soon as we have the money." Koci said that when the owners' property rights were legally recognized and they obtained a court decision permitting the vacating of the building, they had increased their pressure on the Muslim Community. He concluded as follows: "The Muslim Community has never been evicted before. This shameful action has angered not only Muslims but also people of other religions who have criticized the lack of coordination on the part of the organs of our democratic state."

An article in the 25 December issue of REPUBLIKA, the Republican Party newspaper, based on an interview with Haxhi Shyqyri Bylyku, the mufti of Tirana, indicated that Muslim leaders blame the Albanian Government and Tirana officials and not the building's owners for their eviction. REPUBLIKA said that the Muslims have made a number of requests to the government and the mayor of Tirana for the return of their former property and have received "ambiguous responses which raised their hopes, in vain." Bylyku said that, despite its promises, the government has not given any financial aid to the Albanian Muslim Community.

PSSH Chairman Thanks Diverse Supporters

AU1101142195 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 4 Jan 1994 p 1

[Statement by spokesman for PSSH Chairman Fatos Nano]

[FBIS Translated Text] After publication of the memorandum of 46 parliamentary deputies, the declaration of the Albanian Helsinki Committee, and the latest developments, the spokesman of the chairman of the Socialist Party of Albania [PSSH] announces that he has been authorized by the chairman:

To greet and thank all the members of the Albanian Helsinki Committee, who by their declaration of 27 December 1994 on the "Nano Affair," endorsed the just assessments and the civilizing appeal of international institutions and the Albanian general public. PSSH Chairman Fatos Nano regards this as an important step toward the creation and enlargement of the civic society in post-Communist Albania.

At the same time, the spokesman has been authorized to thank the 46 People's Assembly deputies for their memorandum on his release from prison, and to underscore that the Nano considers it proof of their civic and political awareness.

The spokesman has been authorized to thank journalist Hamdi Jupe, who by asking two logically linked questions at a news conference on 28 December 1994, secured from Mr. Berisha a new public statement and confirmation of the fixed idea of the president and Democratic Party that "Fatos Nano's imprisonment is linked with preventing the victory of left-wing forces in Albania." In fact, what is happening and will happen is quite the opposite. These developments cannot be halted, even in Albania.

On the occasion of the New Year Nano expresses to his comrades, colleagues, and sympathizers his unreserved support for the common cause and his best wishes for the future.

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SDS Coordinating Council Elects Spokesperson

AU1001175795 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 10 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] has elected Nadezhda Mikhaylova as SDS spokesperson. Only she, the chairmen, and eventually, the deputy chairmen of, respectively, the SDS Coordinating Council and the parliamentary faction will be authorized to make statements on behalf of the National Coordinating Council of the SDS and the parliamentary faction. The other SDS deputies and SDS party members may express only their own positions.

At its meeting today, the SDS Coordinating Council discussed the basic principles of relations between, on the one hand, the SDS and its parliamentary faction , and on the other, the opposition parties and coalitions in parliament. The principles will be adopted via the vote, at one of the councils's upcoming meetings.

Parliamentary Faction Elects Ahmed Dogan Leader

AU1001175495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 10 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At its meeting today, the parliamentary faction of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] discussed and elected its leadership. Ahmed Dogan was elected chairman of the faction. Gyulbie Osman, Guner Tahir, and Stoyan Denchev will be his deputies.

The DPS proposes Yunal Lyutfi for the post of deputy chairman of the National Assembly.

BSP-DAR Meeting Ends Without Results

AU1001175695 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 10 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The second official meeting between the leaders of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Democratic Alternative for the Republic [DAR] has ended without any specific results. The issue of the eventual cooperation between the two political groups in the executive power have been discussed only in principle. The DAR's final position will be determined by the political forums of the four parties forming DAR. The BSP will determine its final position at the upcoming joint meeting of the BSP Supreme Council and parliamentarians during the weekend.

DAR leader Aleksandur Tomov said a final meeting, which will have a more specific character, will take place next week.

BSP Bureau Discusses Forming Coalitions

AU1001180495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 10 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Executive Bureau of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council has discussed information related to the results of the preliminary talks with the basic extraparliamentary political forces, as well as to the preparations for the upcoming meeting of the BSP Supreme Council and the parliamentary faction of the democratic left during the weekend.

The conclusion reached at the meeting was that after winning the elections running as a coalition, the BSP should not reject other coalition possibilities; however, no compromises regarding the BSP platform must be allowed.

So far, the Patriotic Alliance has expressed willingness to participate in the executive. Apparently the BSP will next week invite the Democratic Alternative for the Republic [DAR] to participate in the coalition.

At the forthcoming meeting of the BSP Supreme Council and the parliamentary faction of the democratic left, the BSP government program and the political formula of the future cabinet will be discussed.

Union Leader Discusses SDS Election Failure

AU1101143595 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 6 Jan 95 p 3

[Interview with Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, by Dimitur Iliev; place and date not given: "Bulgarian Socialist Party's Victory Is a Pyrrhic One"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Iliev] The BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] victory in the parliamentary elections was expected and predicted long in advance, yet many people reacted as if stung by a bee. Why do you think this is?

[Trenchev] The BSP victory was no surprise to many people, although its scale was surprising. They were expected to win 35-38 percent of the vote, but the margin by which they won is of no great importance. The only people who were surprised were those who failed to listen to the voice of logic. The consolidation on the left was noticed some time ago, and the BSP started preparing for the elections much earlier. Far from decreasing, the fragmentation on the right even intensified in the period before the elections.

We warned that unless a formula to unite the democrats was found, the elections would be lost. We have been trying for at least two years to promote such a unification, but no one was ready to listen to us.

This is why the grave subjectivism, probably coupled with the BSP's skillful manipulation of individualism, brought about a complete split in the democratic spectrum, from which an organized and disciplined party was able to benefit.

[Iliev] It seems Podkrepa will abandon its anticommunist slogans and, whereas it has hitherto shown itself to be an organization with specific political leanings, it will now concentrate on purely trade-union functions. You

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said you would support the BSP if the BSP follows a sensible social policy. Does this imply that Podkrepa has reassessed its anti-BSP stance?

[Trenchev] No, we would simply not question positive moves. If the BSP deputies produce positive elements in their policies that cause no harm to the nation and do not reduce the average Bulgarian's standard of living, we cannot object. However, we believe that the communist idea has been rejected by history, so we cannot support it. A different attitude would mean unmotivated anticommunism, while our anticommunism has always been motivated.

For the moment there is no reason for us to change our attitude toward the BSP, an attitude that has been clear since 1990. The BSP has no moral right to govern—because of the principles of government, not the method. Nevertheless, the BSP does have in it people who are far divorced from communism, and we will direct our tactics toward them according to their specific actions.

[Iliev] As well as the BSP, the DAR [Democratic Alternative for the Republic]—and even the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]—achieved a degree of success, with the latter getting 2 percent of the vote. What does this shift to the left by society imply? Even the Berov government was declared to be a red one.

[Trenchev] The failures of the Berov government were very skillfully transferred to the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] and democracy as such. This political maneuver was executed brilliantly. In any case, our compatriots' memory of historical events is not very long.

The BSP contains two ideological wings, although it is not yet clear whether two types of thinking will emerge. The first is that of the young, who clearly realize that there is no turning back, and that having once set off toward capitalism, we have to carry on. If these people continue to defend market economy principles, they will come into confrontation with their own electorate, because they have pledged to provide things that cannot be supplied by market economy methods.

The second ideological concept is that of restoration: to restore the State Security and the state enforcement structures, nationalize private property, and bring back the past. This group is profoundly mistaken, however. The restoration of illusory prosperity and security can only be achieved at the cost of immense coercion and fear. Such a policy can be implemented only with substantial foreign help, which is not available. In any case, the Bulgarian is no longer afraid.

The two tendencies within the BSP can expect serious problems. Very effective moves can be made in politics and, as a politician of the first rank, I believe I can predict their moves.

Their first task is to justify the nation's vote of confidence, and to accumulate political dividends. The nation's problems are clear: crime, unemployment, inflation, and corruption.

The Bulgarian criminals are so self-assured that it is no problem to trap and round up a dozen or so of them. The whole nation will applaud. It is not difficult to charge five people with corruption and pass sentence on them. Of course, they will not be from the BSP; someone else will have to carry the can.

These are effective moves that bring political dividends, but they will not solve the problems. The pragmatists have a better chance of gaining the upper hand in the party. However, from now on the BSP will have problems with its electorate.

I believe that this was a Pyrrhic victory for the Socialists.

[Iliev] Reneta Indzhova's cabinet is also taking effective steps.

[Trenchev] Yes, this government is really achieving something, and I am sorry it will not remain in power long enough to clean out the sewers of the past.

[Iliev] You failed to unite the monarchists and you also attempted to help the Agrarians.

[Trenchev] The voter is offended when he goes behind the curtain and sees 50 different ballot papers. There are no differences in the platforms, only in the leaders. The normal thing would be for us to have three or four parties.

We tried to unite the monarchists—although this is not a trade union's job—but encountered an extremely strong subjective element. Most of those who support the idea of a monarchy idea really have nothing in common with it. I will quote what Tsar Simeon said when I suggested he should try to unite them because he is the only one they would listen to. He said: "They are not listening to me." These people support neither the symbol nor the idea of monarchy.

As to the second part of your question, in my opinion the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] and the Democratic Party have a future. Parties of the so-called popular type—a moderate right alternative—have a strong presence almost everywhere in Europe.

[Iliev] Apart from the split, what is the deeper reason for the SDS's failure?

[Trenchev] The SDS has no structures to elect its leaders and hold them accountable. If I meet Zhan Videnov without consulting my members beforehand, I will be thrown out within two days, but if Filip Dimitrov does the same thing, there is no one to hold him accountable. The decisions in the SDS National Coordinating Council depend more on the subjective views of individual party leaders than on the vote of their grass roots membership. The SDS's very structure and concept generates contradictions, so the issue of personalities is secondary.

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President Views Privatization, NATO, Chechnya

AU1201103595 Vienna NEWS in German 12 Jan 95 p 140

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Senta Ziegler in Haldensee, Tirol; date not given: " 'Couples Should Not Cling to Each Other'"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Ziegler] Do you see a danger of communist forces being strengthened again in the former Eastern bloc?

[Havel] I certainly do not see any such danger for the Czech Republic.

[Ziegler] To what extent has privatization succeeded in the Czech Republic?

[Havel] About 80 percent. Coupon privatization is completed; we will have to introduce new technologies and find new markets for private enterprises now. What has to be speeded up this year is the distribution and return of land. Things are going too slowly here. But in comparison with other eastern countries, our privatization has been carried out very quickly. Prague and other Czech cities already look completely different.

[Ziegler] The Czech and Slovak Republics could come together again in a new form in the European Union.

[Havel] Yes, in the long term. I think it is very important for us to become a member of the European Union and NATO quickly. That is also in the interest of the European Union.

[Ziegler] Although both the European Union and NATO have failed in Bosnia?

[Havel] Yes, in spite of that. It is true that the democratic world has not done everything it could have done in Bosnia. That is a disgrace. A more decisive threat of military intervention would have prevented things from escalating at an earlier stage. On the other hand, NATO is an organization established for the protection of its members, not for fighting in nonmember countries.

[Ziegler] How have you reacted to the military attacks on Chechnya?

[Havel] I have appealed to President Yeltsin to stop the fighting immediately. Although there are differences between this intervention and the Soviet invasion in Prague in 1968, I have been very much concerned. It must be possible to find a political solution. [passage omitted]

Vaclav Havel on Membership in NATO

95CH0084C Prague PROGNOSIS WEEKLY in English 14 Dec 94 p 6

[Article by Randall Lyman: "Havel Takes on U.S., Russia Over NATO"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Czech President Vaclav Havel took shots at both the United States and Russia Tuesday, saying in a speech in Budapest that each nation continues to put its self-interest ahead of the Czech Republic's desire to join the club of democratic nations.

Speaking at the 53-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe summit, Havel's comments came amid increasing fervor on the Czech government's side that the nation should become a full member of the NATO military alliance as soon as possible. So far, NATO has offered former Soviet satellite states membership in the "Partnership for Peace," a new alliance aligned with NATO but not formally part of it.

Earlier at the summit, U.S. President Bill Clinton echoed Havel by reiterating his position that no non-NATO country, such as Russia, should have a right to veto membership for the formerly communist states of Eastern Europe. Russian President Boris Yeltsin said admitting them would only provoke Russian "mistrust."

"No country ought to prevent any other country from seeking a place...in an association with which it is closely linked," Havel said of the Russian concerns, pointing out that European security was not a zero-sum game in which the expansion of one alliance necessarily represented a threat to another.

But Havel also recalled the disappointment voiced by Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and Polish leaders during Clinton's January visit to Prague.

"Many countries that shook off their totalitarian regimes still feel insufficiently anchored in the community of democratic states, and are often disappointed by the reluctance with which that community has opened its arms to them," he told the CSCE delegates.

Faced with the intractable Yugoslav war and "clear warning signs" of similar conflicts throughout the former Soviet Union, he said, "democrats appear to be marking time or even...utterly at a loss, masking their inability to agree on clear and courageous solutions with a superfluity of words."

Havel also emphasized that the CSCE could contribute immensely to European security by providing a link for cooperation between NATO and other Western alliances on one side, and Russia or the Russian-led Commonwealth of Independent States on the other.

Klaus Delivers State of Union Speech

95CH0084D Prague PROGNOSIS WEEKLY in English 14 Dec 94 p 6

[Article by Hhana Lesenarova and Robert McLean: "Confident Klaus Sees Only Victories"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In a cheerleading speech as rosy as any given during the Communist era, Premier Vaclav Klaus on Tuesday sang the praises of his government's

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achievements over the past two years in the country's first State of the Union address.

"Let me say that our country's progress is extremely positive and on the balance the first two-and-a-half years of existence of the Czech Republic's first government have been successful," read Klaus.

Klaus gave his domestic roundup at the same time that President Vaclav Havel—who suggested last month that he would give this speech to Parliament—was speaking to leaders of the Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe about the need to build stronger international ties between East and West.

The premier claimed his team of ministers has sloughed off the burdens of the past, saying that large-scale privatization is nearly complete, the country's Gross Domestic Product is forecasted for steady growth, inflation is under control, and the government is trusted at home and abroad.

"Our extraordinary success has been keeping the social peace. That indicates that the economic policies of the government are widely accepted and supported by the public. It gives high international credit to our country," Klaus said.

But the mood on the floor of Parliament was not nearly as buoyant as it appeared behind the podium. Deputies complained that for each of the achievements Klaus touted, there was a shortcoming that he ignored in his speech.

"When (former Communist President Gustav) Husak recited his vision of a beautiful future for society it was exactly the same. (Klaus) does it even better—he is more intelligent," said Pavel Seifer, a deputy from the left-leaning Social Democrats.

Klaus spent 80 minutes giving his speech, and by the time he was halfway done many deputies were leaving for a cigarette break.

"I'm not interested in it any more because I already know what he is going to say anyway," said Seifer. After listening to Klaus's long list of accomplishments, Seifer joked, "I want to suggest to Parliament that a life-long title of infallibility be given to all government members and particularly to Klaus."

Klaus mentioned the problems that have most plagued his government—such as the underdeveloped telecommunications system, severe environmental damage and a rising crime rate—but gave them a positive spin. For example, instead of speaking about the halting progress in telecommunications, which has been widely criticized, Klaus simply said the government has passed a new policy on the matter.

But opposition expected to hear the government's evaluation of how well they have lived up to their agenda. "I personally feel the speech is lacking any critical element.... Obviously in all the fields there are things which deserve to be praised but there are also things which need to be talked about—things which can be improved and things which failed," said Deputy Petra Buzkova, another Social Democrat. "That's quite logical and that's the way it's done everywhere and I don't think it's very wise (for Klaus) not to admit to them."

But Klaus and his coalition partners thought it was appropriate to balance out the "completely useless catastrophic scenarios" often forwarded by opposition parties and the media.

"This was a report about the fulfillment of government's agenda and I don't believe there was a need here to emphasize what wasn't accomplished yet," said Jan Cerny from Klaus's Civic Democratic Party.

Klaus's one complaint was directed at the Parliament itself, and particularly the leftist opposition parties. He said communication between ministers and deputies was faulty, and that no one is "searching for deeper harmony between the government and Parliament."

Asked about this, Buzkova pointed at the fact that there was no time reserved for deputies' comments or questions afterward, although her party had requested it.

"I think there is a big problem of communication because to listen to a long—and in my opinion very general—speech without being able to ask (the author) any questions is not really fair," she said.

Provisions of Citizenship Law Reviewed

95CH0080A Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 16 Nov 94 p 3

[Commentary by Ivan Jemelka: "A Change in the Law on Citizenship Will Not Solve Anything"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For a long time now, President Vaclav Havel has been occupied with the problems besetting Czech citizenship. His interest was provoked not only by the critical voices of foreign institutions, but also by letters arriving at Prague Castle.

The law on the acquisition and loss of Czech Republic citizenship has been criticized by a group of U.S. congressmen. These Americans judge that the provision according to which Slovak nationals who are permanent residents of the Czech Republic were unable to obtain Czech citizenship but have been punished by the courts in past years is discriminatory and in violation of the international commitments made by the Czech state. On 3 November, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus received a letter from the chairman and deputy chairman of the Helsinki Commission of the Congress of the United States. In the letter, Congressmen S.H. Hoyer and D. De Concini draw the attention of the prime minister to the fact that the so-called Romany clause, which is contained in the law on citizenship of the Czech Republic, could result in the most massive loss of citizenship in the

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post-World War II period. Similar reservations regarding the above law also exist in our domestic opposition.

The Klimes dictionary of foreign words defines the term "discrimination" as the restriction of rights for a certain category of individuals based on their class or social standing, nationality, race, religion, and political views. But the requirement calling for a foreign national to have an impeccable record for a period of five years in order to be able to acquire citizenship applies to all applicants equally, without regard to their social standing, nationality, race, etc. Slovak nationals who live permanently in the Czech Republic but for whom five years have not yet passed since their most recent punishment by the courts do not have their rights abridged in any manner. As foreigners, they cannot vote or serve in the military, but these are practices that exist in the majority of civilized countries.

The citizens of Slovakia who have gradually moved to the Czech Republic include approximately 200,000 members of the Romany minority. Criminality among this minority is very likely higher than it is among the remaining majority of the citizenry. However, there are no statistical records according to which it might be possible to determine how many Romanies are now unable to obtain Czech Republic citizenship because they stood before the courts during the past five years. It is primarily for this reason that the Constitutional Court last September rejected and characterized as being speculative the brief submitted by opposition delegates who felt that the law on citizenship discriminates against the Romanies. Similarly, the opposition could voice the criticism that the provisions on Czech Republic citizenship might in the future be aimed against citizens who are members of the SNS [Slovak National Party] or against former Yugoslav nationals, whose numbers and share in criminal activity in this country are slowly growing.

According to the most recent public opinion polls, the relationship between the Romanies and the majority of the population is not good. People criticize this minority for its aggressive conduct, its cunning, and its misuse of social security. Any possible change in the law on citizenship will not mitigate this tension—it will, on the contrary, more likely aggravate it. Anyone who intends to seriously study the situation of the Romanies in the Czech Republic should primarily propose a method for improving the education and employment qualification of the Romany minority. This is perhaps the only effective method of gradually removing the barrier that continues to grow between the Romanies and the rest of the majority population.

To examine the possibilities of relaxing the conditions calling for a period of five years with a clean criminal record only to allow Slovak Romanies to obtain Czech citizenship tends to sort of give the impression that someone might be convinced that criminality is a characteristic and unchanging attribute of the Romany minority and that it is necessary to adapt the law under discussion accordingly. However, let us hope that this is not the case and that surely even some U.S. congressmen or the presidential office do not think so. As far as the Romany problem is concerned, it is therefore necessary to turn attention elsewhere.

Review of Government-Approved Military Document

AU1101191195 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No 1 (2-8 Jan 95) p 4

[Article by Jaroslav Spurny: "Czechs Do Not Have an Enemy; Government Approved the Most Important Military Document Since the Republic's Founding"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Czech Government, essentially unnoticed by the media, 10 days ago approved the most important Army document since the founding of the Republic: the military strategy for 1996-2005. Two months earlier, it had returned the document (which was termed military doctrine then) to the Ministry of Defense for redrafting. This time, the document supposedly passed without any serious objections being raised.

In the 11-page document, the government says, at long last, what our Army should look like, how it will function, whence we are threatened, and how we should face up to the threat. Even though the Army has been working on its transformation (its fourth since 1989) for more than one year and even though it has been trying even longer to move closer to NATO, it lacked the most fundamental thing—the declaration of its military policy that would make it clear to the world where we intend to stand in the military field and whom we consider our enemy.

Russian Risks

The Czech Government does not view anybody as its enemy. According to the document, Bohemia and Moravia are unlikely to become the target of a direct military attack. Experts only consider the possibility of some security risks that might lead to an armed conflict into which the Republic could be drawn. The currently most important such risk is the political and economic instability in East European states. According to Defense Ministry officials, the preceding sentence enciphers the fear of Russia. Another risk is represented by the war in the former Yugoslavia: Given the differing attitudes of powers (but also other countries) toward the solution to the Balkans problem, Holan's military strategy claims, the escalation of conflicts between other states cannot be ruled out. A marginal motive of another possible threat to our country is the growing influence of extremist forces pushing for the abrogation of postwar agreements. The document does not elaborate on this. In the opinion of experts on secret services, the Sudeten Germans are apparently meant under the term "extremist forces." Such a qualification supposedly is to be expected from General Prochazka, the chief of military intelligence.

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Industrial and natural disasters or mass migration of people feature in the document as nonmilitary risks.

The new military strategy does not abandon the former federal model of circular defense: The Army must be ready to face a military attack from any direction. On this point, the material essentially contains nothing but general theorems for students of military secondary schools. The Army's strength must serve as an advance warning to a possible adversary and make it clear to him that the cost of the aggression would exceed the benefit gained. The document concedes that the Czech Republic's defense capability is "very limited." The Army supposedly is able to resist an attack from one direction, while, without allies, we remain helpless when attacked from several sides.

Acknowledgment of Existence

According to military experts, the reequipment of the Czech Army to reach the standard of the more advanced NATO members would cost about $7-8 billion over a period of 10 years. This sum exceeds the current investment possibilities of the Defense Ministry several times. This is why the military strategy counts only on funds that the ministry has at its disposal—annually 2.5 percent of the gross domestic product. Of these funds, a total of 120 billion korunas are to be earmarked for the Army's equipment over the 10-year- period.

The most important step on the road to the building of a modern army is the establishment of a perfect computer network. U.S.-made computers are to be purchased as early as this year. Another 60 billion korunas will be earmarked by the end of the millennium for purchases of combat aircraft, air-defense systems, radio-electronic warfare systems, and sophisticated [inteligentni] ammunition.

The number of troops is to be kept within the range of 0.5-0.75 percent of the Czech Republic's population (this would be equivalent to a present Army strength of 50,000-75,000 troops, while the real number is 74,000), and it is to increase about four times in wartime. The introduction of a professional army is not being considered. Only the corps of noncommissioned officers is to be professionalized. According to the Defense Ministry's demographic surveys, it should not present a problem to secure the necessary number of draftees in the next 10 years. In line with the NATO structure, the Czech Army will be divided into 27 brigades, which will be complemented by special units (such as military intelligence).

There are no strikingly new points in the approved military strategy, which, in fact, in a very rational and lucid manner sums up what is known from other military texts (such as the acquisition plan or the proposal for the Army's transformation). Nonetheless, representatives of the Czech Army's General Staff perceive it as a document of great importance for the Army because it means, they say, political acknowledgement of the Army's existence before the international forum.

Minister Dlouhy Calls For 'More Generous' Budget

AU1101192895

[FBIS Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 2 January 1995 on pages 1 and 3 carries a 2,600-word interview with Minister of Industry and Trade Vladimir Dlouhy by Marcela Doleckova entitled "The Time Has Come When the Budget Can Afford To Be More Generous." The place and date of the interview are not given.

To begin with, Dlouhy assesses what he sees as the "advantages" and the "pitfalls" of Czech industry. Referring to the former, he says that "the current growth of industrial production and of foreign trade bears out that the nice sentences about a rich industrial tradition and qualified labor that we spoke five years ago were not mere platitudes." The growth of output and exports is all the more remarkable, Dlouhy says, as Czech industry as a whole has been reduced in size.

Moving on to the "pitfalls," Dlouhy identifies as the three principal problems of Czech industry the quality of management, the obsolescence of production assets, and the structure of industry. In this context, he says: "The existing structure has been maintained, or, to be more precise, changes in this structure have been rather slow because of our two basic comparative advantages thus far: the koruna's exchange rate and cheap labor. However, unlike critics from the ranks of the opposition, I do not think this has been a mistake. But I do think that completed basic transformation steps must, as we have always stressed, eventually become instruments for structures changes as well. So far, the structure of industry has not experienced any major shift."

To reduce their dependence on the two aforesaid comparative advantages, Dlouhy continues, Czech companies need investment, modernization, and access to more advanced technologies, which, in turn, requires the creation of a "more favorable environment for investments" in the Czech Republic. In this context, the minister proposes changes in two areas. The first is depreciation. To provide greater incentives for investors, Dlouhy proposes a reduction in the period of depreciation for machinery and equipment, which is eight to 15 years in the Czech Republic, compared to four to 10 years in European Union countries, as well as one-off depreciations in excess of the current 10 percent, "even at the price of a slower reduction of the corporate income tax." The minister concedes that "this is perhaps a rather heretical idea" and that it may run up against opposition in the government, just like his earlier proposal for a "superhigh" depreciation in "selected categories of investments where the development of know-how is the fastest." The second area that could help stimulate new investment, according to Dlouhy, is the financial restructuring of indebted companies. He says: "What we lack is a comprehensive analysis of why the level of company insolvency permanently hovers at a level of approximately 150 billion korunas (Kc), why so-called bad debts

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constitute some 10-20 percent of the main banks' entire credit volume, and why instruments that are available today, such as operations on the secondary securities market, the use of promissory notes, or the purchase of debts with a discount, are used to scarcely." The minister believes that Czech legislation in this area is much less flexible than that of the European Union and provides much less space for the voluntary write-off of debts or receivables of both banks and companies. For example, banks require the taxation authorities' consent if they want to set up contingency reserves for bad loans, and, even if they set up such reserves, this is not a sufficient condition for them to be able to write off debts, he says. Besides, the motivation of creditors to use existing instruments is very low, which, according to Dlouhy, is why Konsolidacni Banka (Consolidation Bank) is currently the only bank in the country to purchase companies' debts with a discount.

Asked what impact the proposed increased write-offs of investments and company debts would have on the state budget, Dlouhy says: "An analysis would have to be carried out first. First of all, this analysis must confirm that a significant correlation between the proposed changes and economic growth really exists. I believe that such a correlation exists and that there must be a debate on this issue. Macroeconomic policy is of fundamental significance, but it must not be confined to anticyclical measures and to fiscal targets alone. We are on the threshold of economic growth, which, however, must be faster than average growth in advanced European countries from a long-term viewpoint. Otherwise, the gap between us and West Europe will not begin to close. But such growth will not come on its own."

Dlouhy points out that the Czech economy has stabilized, that the state budget has been in surplus for the third consecutive year, and that economic growth has started. Yet this growth could be even faster, Dlouhy continues, which is why he believes that the time has now come when it is possible to abandon "a purely fiscal view" of the economic situation and when "the budget can afford to be more generous."

Next, the minister defends his frequent foreign travels, which, according to the interviewer, have made him the Czech Government's "biggest traveler." Dlouhy says that it was necessary for him and the large number of Czech businessmen in his entourage to visit the "most important territories" over the last two years to "renew trust" in the Czech economy or to "open doors" for it. He notes, however, that he intends to reduce the intensity of his foreign travels and to wind up the phase of "long-term oriented trade missions" in 1995. He says that, in 1995, he intends to visit only the Scandinavian countries, whose joining the European Union has affected the Czech Republic's trade relations with them; to accompany President Havel on his tour of Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines; and, possibly, to visit India and some Latin American countries.

Speaking about foreign trade, Dlouhy also argues in favor of establishing the Ceska Exportni Banka (CEB, Czech Export Bank). He dismisses the commercial banks' criticism of the CEB as being motivated by their fear of a competitor and defends the CEB project as a good one, which, thanks to the state's guarantee, will help obtain long-term funds at a lower price than could be obtained by any commercial bank. The minister is convinced that, with an initial investment of only Kc1.5 billion, CEB "will be able to generate the volume of resources that will be actually needed in this country in the next two years."

In concluding, Dlouhy discusses his ideas about improving the "flow of information" about the Czech economy. In this context, he mentions that, some time ago, he had sent a letter to Foreign Minister Zieleniec, in which he requested cooperation between the two ministries and suggested that some employees of the Ministry of Trade and Industry switch to the diplomatic service and be sent to the "Czech Centers" being built at Czech embassies abroad to promote trade information. Dlouhy hopes that Foreign Minister Zieleniec's reaction will be positive, so that "people who understand trade" will be represented in the "Czech Centers."

Czech Attitudes Toward Foreigners Surveyed

95CH0080B Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 16 Nov 94 p 4

[Article by Jolanta Przybylakova: "The Majority of Czechs Expect That Foreigners Will Adapt to Our Conditions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The majority of the Czech population is primarily interested in the cultural homogeneity of our society and lives in the expectation that all foreign nationals will completely adapt to our conditions. This is evident from the results of the research paper entitled "Ethnic Relationships in the Czech Republic." Sociologist Ivan Gabal informed our correspondent of this fact.*

As Gabal further stated, only 14 percent of those questioned were willing to tolerate a certain cultural autonomy, a separate life-style and customs of foreigners. Gabal drew attention to the fact that this attitude is not the source of any kind of major tension. "This is more an effort to ignore the ethnically different population." From this view, it can be said that anyone who does not adapt becomes unadaptable and, thus, a problem.

The contributions made by foreigners living in the Czech Republic are seen by people particularly in the economic effect. The Czech people consider Americans, Frenchmen, and Germans to be the least problematic in terms of relationships. The nationalities that are ethnically more diverse (Vietnamese, Chinese, or Lebanese) are considered by Czech society together with Russians, Ukrainians, and members of the former Yugoslavia to be

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more of a problem. The Romanies are considered to be the "most alienated foreigners."

As Gabal further stated, the Czech Republic is attempting to become integrated into the society of the European democracies. However, according to what he says, the success of this integration will depend only on the success of political actions and the speed with which certain economic parameters are met. The course of integration will also be influenced by the capabilities of the Czech Republic to master European conditions. "It is possible to anticipate that the future of integration is a future of long-term growth of pressure upon the growth of ethnic and cultural openness of Czech society and the abilities of the Czech population to live in a multicultural environment."

The research was conducted by a group consisting of the MENT (Man, Education, and New Technologies) and Gabal Analysis & Consulting at the end of April and the beginning of May of last year. Some 985 respondents over age 18 were questioned.

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Deputy Prime Minister Receives EU Official

LD1101180595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kalman has received in Bratislava Gerhard Sabathil, the adviser to the European Union's [EU] Prague mission, who was mainly interested in the work on integrating Slovakia into European structures.

Kalman assured the guest that the government's policy statement puts emphasis on Slovakia's integration into European structures and that the work on this process will intensify.

Radulovic: Serbs Ready for Immediate Cooperation

LD1101212495 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Deputy Prime Minister Slobodan Radulovic of Serbia received a group of Slovak journalists who are on a working visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia today. Here is a short dispatch from Belgrade by Michal Tvarozek:

[Tvarozek] The economic embargo under which Yugoslavia is currently living is barely visible in the streets or shops. It has, however, hit everyday economic life hard. The deputy prime minister said that, according to their estimates, the gross national product would be up to three times higher than it is now. Many companies, whether private or state-owned, have had to change their production program and, in some cases, are on the verge of collapse.

That does not mean that we are not preparing for a relaxation of the embargo in the future or indeed for its total lifting, Slobodan Radulovic said. We are getting ready to continue from where we left off. Then he said:

[Begin Radulovic recording in Serbo-Croat with correspondent's superimposed Slovak translation] We are and always have been an open country, undoubtedly the most open of all non-Western states. We are ready for immediate close cooperation with Slovakia. We adhere to two principles. We accept the embargo, and we do not forget who took what attitude toward Serbia at our most difficult time. Slovakia meets both criteria. At this very time, we are setting up a group of experts to find out where there is interest on both sides to cooperate. From our side, we intend to continue with joint projects in agriculture and the engineering industry. We hold the door open to Slovakia. [end recording]

Ethnic Hungarians Seek Part in Treaty Talks

LD1101182895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Preparatory talks on the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty might come to a deadlock if the opinion of the Hungarian parties of Slovakia are not considered in the course of the talks. This is the opinion of Coexistence Chairman Miklos Duray. He told a Slovak opposition paper that the Hungarian coalition of the Slovak parliament was united in being ready to hold talks on this matter with the Slovak Government. However, it is not certain that their proposal will be accepted by the Meciar government.

ZRS Chairman Discusses Future Improvements

AU1101142495 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 29 Dec 94 p 4

[Interview with Jan Luptak, NR SR deputy chairman and ZRS chairman, by Emilia Herzogova; place and date not given: "There Is Always Something To Improve..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Herzogova] Mr. Deputy Chairman, you represent in parliament a party that is criticized for its attitude toward businessmen. Concerns are also being expressed that, in time, there could be a new dictatorship of the proletariat. What is your response to this?

[Luptak] We are not criticizing businessmen but, rather, speculators and swindlers; there is a difference. If you take the past four or five years, many cases of fraud and getting rich quick have been discussed in public, but no one has drawn the consequences from even one of these cases. At the same time, hundreds, even thousands, of people have remained literally impoverished during the same period. Should a politician push this aside as if it did not concern him? The Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] was founded with the aim of defending the interests of this social stratum, but this does not mean we want to detach ourselves. On the contrary, we only want fairer principles for existence, and we welcome cooperation with everyone who is interested in prosperity based on this.

[Herzogova] This means that you are not interested in reviving the former social system?

[Luptak] No, in no way. Take the promises that were made in November and post-November 1989—that the economy would be transformed, an economy in which the ownership of enterprises would be changed, enterprises that we would manage competently so that our lot would be improved and we would make enough for education, health care, and ourselves. The reality, however, is different. A few individuals and clans have thoroughly lined their pockets on privatization, and it did not cost them a penny. All they needed were the right connections—and the majority was left with nothing...

We cannot allow this situation to intensify. It is hard to confuse the endeavor for a principle of fairness, which we are talking about, with that of the dictatorship of the proletariat, however. These are, after all, diametrically opposing principles. Look, a worker becomes a radical out of need, and there is more than enough of that around us in Slovakia. Therefore, it is more useful to

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unite our interests on the principle of an association or party and to defend them within the framework of a parliamentary democracy.

[Herzogova] Which options oriented toward improvement do you consider to be the most viable in the near future?

[Luptak] Improving the system of supervision on all levels. After all, supervision is almost virtually nonexistent. And, of course, improving discipline, also on all levels. Third, implementing legal sanctions in cases where the law has obviously been infringed.

[Herzogova] Are you not concerned that you will be extremely inconvenient to certain business and political spheres?

[Luptak] I entered into politics with this knowledge. Incidentally, I am no longer on my own, and it will now be hard to keep the Association of Workers of Slovakia quiet... If someone has committed and is committing a crime, he should bear the consequences of it. This is a natural requirement in every civilized country. Should it be an exception in our country alone?

If I find out from the newspapers how I chose an office for myself in the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR] or how my niece was distributing leaflets in Bratislava and this is not based on the truth, if they denigrate not only my human dignity for certain views and stances, then I have to state with bitterness that inconvenient is a weak expression. At the same time, no one has written that those who have conducted privatization owe the National Property Fund more than 972 million korunas [Sk].

However, entering into the government is like entering into the lion's den, so I am not complaining. (I do not deny, however, that it irritates me.)

[Herzogova] People turn to you with their complaints, and you try to help many of them (you have now handed over Sk100,000 collected for children's homes). Will you not run out of breath at such a pace? Will the problems of the social scissors not overwhelm you?

[Luptak] Dealing with them is one of my duties. If someone elects you, he obviously trusts you, so I should strive to maintain the trust of the people who voted for the Association of Workers and me personally.

[Herzogova] You are demanding openness in the privatization process. Is this a realistic demand if you take into consideration the practice followed to date in many cases?

[Luptak] We are proceeding from this incorrect, inappropriate practice; we are demanding normal ownership-commercial relations. After all, when you walk into a store and choose something, it belongs to you the minute you pay for it. In Slovakia, many enterprises belong to people who, so far, have not paid a penny for them. By making it possible for them to play owners and to make a mess of things that do not belong to them, we are supporting culpable unfairness.

[Herzogova] Are you not, however, also isolated in the current governing coalition?

[Luptak] Inasmuch as we did not enter into politics for wealth, we have to conduct ourselves accordingly, and there is no point in talking about isolation.

[Herzogova] Do you believe that all of your close and not-so-close colleagues are not attracted by a vision of mammon?

[Luptak] Obviously, given such visions, no one is immune. One can, however, resist them if one is convinced of the correctness of the views, stances, and acts that one is trying to put into practice even in opposition to contradictory...

I realize—and not only I—that we are all recallable if we violate the principles with which we entered politics and the government.

[Herzogova] Compromises are often made in politics and the government, and even you will not avoid them, regardless of your intentions.

[Luptak] You are right, but if I accede to a compromise, I have to know whether this is a serious issue or demand that could not be resolved by other means.

[Herzogova] You uphold the strict view that whoever makes mistakes and has shortcomings should leave the scene. Do you think you will succeed in "being in the picture" and also in having an overview of the negative factors in the activity of the Cabinet or its individual members?

[Luptak] We have agreed on certain rules and also on meetings with the ministers and deputy prime ministers. I hope we will manage to resolve things while they are still "hot."

[Herzogova] Parliament has approved a provisional budget as of January 1995 in a preannounced tough restrictive policy. Will this be compatible with your interests with regard to the socially weak strata?

[Luptak] I was aware of the seriousness of the situation, of the risk associated with a deficit, but, at the moment, the road upon which we will embark with the provisional budget is the only starting point.

However, we must also look methodically at the enterprises that are at zero and "below it." We must look carefully at the privatization process and not only for the reasons I have already mentioned.

We are demanding a market economy. We even maintain that it exists in our country, but is this really true?

In the West, in advanced economies, they have been proceeding for 100-200 years toward the current situation. Development in our country was different, and now

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we want to catch up with everything as soon as possible. A transformation after which milk costs Sk12 instead of Sk2.0 and the highest salaries in society are earned by bankers, deputies, and managers is not, in my opinion, correct—not just because tens of thousands of people are living on support and beyond the verge of "acknowledged" need, but also because there are no funds to pay doctors, teachers, and scientists... This is to say nothing of the qualified workers and people in agriculture. No fence is too high to a starving man, and none of us surely wants development to move in a direction in which anarchy, destruction, and instability would prevail.

[Herzogova] You have certain principles and ideals with which you entered into the coalition. The situation may progress differently from your expectations. Is there any critical boundary beyond which you will not proceed?

[Luptak] Certainly, we have a stake in the government, which was constituted with certain aims, and these correspond to our aims and resolutions. If they should not be fulfilled, if there should be changes leading to the intensification of negative phenomena without hope of a turnabout for the better, this would be the signal for a more decisive solution. At the moment, it is difficult to talk about a concession or a withdrawal. When I took on the responsibility, it was with the knowledge that there is no running away from it.

The year 1995 will be very difficult. The situation will get worse because our battered economy needs time to resurrect itself. If there are a million people in Slovakia who work manually, this is not enough. At various offices, we are currently employing 20 percent more people than five years ago, which is also not a good calling card for economy consciousness. If we intend to achieve a turnabout and gradually improve the situation, we also have to adopt laws that will apply to everyone equally.

[Herzogova] For example?

[Luptak] A law on privatization, a law on education. Simply, in every sector there are legislative gaps through which finances and also the people's trust are seeping.

[Herzogova] Your critical attitudes toward the Slovak Republic's entry into NATO and some of the recommendations from the International Monetary Fund are well known. Where do they stem from?

[Luptak] Military groupings are not just a political and military issue but also an economic one. Following the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, our entry into the North Atlantic Alliance would mean, among other things, expenditure on rearmament. We really cannot afford this, and it is necessary to view the IMF's recommendations from the point of view of their contributions to our economy, to Slovakia. The common sense of my old grandad would consider foreign currency loans to purchase consumer goods from abroad to be a luxury.

ZRS Supports EU Membership Application

AU1201094995 Bratislava SME in Slovak 10 Jan 95 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "Day in Brief" column: "The ZRS Supports the Slovak Republic's Entry Into the EU"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Association of Workers of Slovakia (ZRS) supports the Slovak Government's decision to submit an application for membership in the European Union (EU) this year. This statement was made yesterday by ZRS Deputy Chairman M. Kocnar. He added that the ZRS will definitely not initiate a referendum on this issue.

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Seized Uranium Said Not Enough To Make Weapons

LD1101202595 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 11 Jan 95

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Uranium in the pickling jar: In December of last year more than 1.5 kg of uranium was found by police in Gyoer. [passage omitted] It appears that this fissionable material was of poor quality and only amateur smugglers could believe that transporting it with the aim of smuggling it into Austria was going to be good business.

[Brigadier General Balazs Novaky, national commander of the border guard] "Before Christmas, around the town of Gyoer, criminal investigators stopped a car in which two men and two women, all Slovak citizens, were attempting to smuggle uranium across the border. Their likely destination was Austria."

[Correspondent] The two men were taken into custody; the uranium taken to the Institute of Radiation Biology. Tests confirmed that the pickling jar contained radioactive materia; its degree of radioactivity well exceeded the level—prescribed by the Nuclear Act—below which radioactivity poses no danger to health.

[Voice of the unidentified managing director of the institute] "The radioactive concentration of this material—that is, its radioactivity in terms of units of mass—was 20 times higher than the limit. In other words, it is radioactive and harmful to health, in any case."

[Correspondent] According to the managing director, since we are talking about a small quantity, the confiscated uranium is not suitable for manufacturing nuclear weapons. It would present a danger only if it were to fall into inexpert hands.

[Managing director] "It crumbles easily when poured repeatedly from one container into another or if moved often, and a person inhaling the powder in the air is taking a serious health risk."

Government Plans To Retain Agricultural Assets

LD1101221695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In order to establish a new kind of integration among cooperatives, the government is planning to keep the ownership of state agricultural state assets to the value of ten to 20 billion forints. This is what Minister of Agriculture Laszlo Lakos said at the congress of the National Association of Agricultural Cooperatives and Producers.

Delegates on behalf of various counties warned that agricultural production has fallen drastically and the tolerance of village populations has reached its maximum. In his message to the congress Gyula Horn has emphasized the importance of agricultural cooperatives.

SZDSZ Official Examines Survival of Coalition

AU1101162895 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Jan 95 p 8

[Interview with Janos Kis by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "Saturday's MAGYAR HIRLAP Extra With Philosopher Janos Kis, Founding Chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats—The Danger of a Constitutional Adventure Can Be Reduced"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Pinter] To what extent do personal issues influence the coalition's survival?

[Kis] I do not believe they do. If the government's operation were to become more routine, the clashes between the prime minister and some of his ministers would disappear. However, if a normal routine of preparing government decisions and publicly representing these is not established, then no kind of personnel change can help solve the problems. I am talking about coordinating the government's operation, rather than coalition coordination. The latter is only part of the more general task.

[Pinter] Do you believe the coalition is in danger?

[Kis] I assume both sides are rationally assessing the needs of the situation. Should the coalition split up, the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] government that would replace it would be very unstable. If a government's majority is very narrow, it can easily find itself in the minority. In addition to this, even the smallest interest group of the government's parliamentary base can exert a lot of pressure, because the preservation of every single vote becomes a vital issue. We have already seen examples of withdrawing decisions that had already been announced by the finance minister because the government, as a unified body, was not able to bear the pressure that came from its own camp. The situation would become untenable if the members of the MSZP government had to bear this pressure on their own. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] What issues divide the Free Democrats and the Socialists the most?

[Kis] The most important, debated issues do not actually divide the two parties. These issues are also debated within the MSZP. The decisive question is what we think about state redistribution and state property. I do not believe that significant Socialist groups are opposed to market orientation and privatization. Many of them do believe, however, that the state has to remain the biggest economic power, a huge proprietor and force for redistribution, even in a market economy. Naturally, everything is a matter of degree and level—because, just as the "supporters of the state" accept the need for the market,

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the "supporters of the market" are also aware that a modern economy cannot exist without a certain level of state intervention. The debate is over the level and nature of the intervention that can be allowed by the logic of a market economy. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Are there any emerging social processes fueled mainly by welfare dissatisfaction that can lead to the fall of the coalition?

[Kis] Uncertainty, rather than the economic difficulties themselves, causes the fall of governments. If a government does not have the courage to take unpopular measures that are unavoidable in order to restore the economy, then it not only loses the chance of economic success but also creates a feeling, in the groups that suffer temporary or lasting losses due to the transformation, that these sacrifices are not really justified. If the sacrifice is unjustified, then imposing it on people cannot be morally accepted: It is solely in the interest of a small group that is getting rich thanks to the government, rather than in the nation's interest. Governments are usually shaken by this kind of a moral upset. When their measures are painful but consistent and understandable, people might not like them but will respect them. This is the only way to make people accept the government's policy and adjust their own economic decisions to the expectations that the government's predictions will come true. Therefore, reducing the friction within the coalition is not the primary goal of making the government's operation more predictable. The state of the coalition is only a minor issue. It is subordinated to the more fundamental issue of whether the government will be credible to the society.

[Pinter] Which political ideas can be expected to gain strength and which will weaken?

[Kis] [passage omitted] With the end of the disciplining force of the Cold War, certain old power conflicts have been renewed. Europe is in a transitional state, and it has not yet been firmly decided whether it will continue to progress toward supra-national integration or return to the traditional politics of power equilibrium. This transitional period is characterized by a high degree of uncertainty, which reduces the chance that the Western powers will use a coordinated policy to force our region to respect human rights and stabilize democracy. This is why the Yugoslav crisis deteriorated to its current point. This is also why [Russian President Boris] Yeltsin could dare to take bloody action in Chechnya. This is why [Slovak Prime Minister] Meciar was able to attempt to introduce a presidential dictatorship in the Constitution.

In a word, the East European enemies of democracy and human rights need not be worried that their attempts will be doomed to failure from the outset by international resistance. We have come to a period in which the East European democracies will be, for a while, more vulnerable then they were a few years ago. If we cannot ensure stability via internal resources, we cannot much hope for external guarantees. Therefore, I find it decisive for the Hungarian democratic parties to agree that they wish to preserve the constitutional setup that was established in 1989-1990. However deep their political differences might be, they should see each other as partners in maintaining constitutional institutions, and they should not work together with any of the political forces that do not take this seriously.

[Pinter] How long will this period of vulnerability last?

[Kis] It might not be too long. It is possible that the increasing activity of Russian imperialism will speed up NATO's expansion eastward, thus creating a new situation. However, we certainly have to be thinking in terms of years. It is a common responsibility of the Hungarian democratic parties to ensure that the Republic's constitutional order is not allowed to become questionable in these few years.

[Pinter] In your view, are the chances for this better or worse now than before 1994?

[Kis] I think they are better. I can see two positive developments. One is the result of the local government elections. I do not mean that the current government parties—unlike the 1990 coalition—managed to repeat the performance they achieved at the parliamentary elections.

I am going to say something that will probably surprise you: I find the relative success of the Independent Smallholders Party a positive sign. Why? Because it indicates that the voters who are attracted to the extremes are starting to become separated from the constituency of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. Under such circumstances, this separation might become easier on a party political level, although a number of negative signs also exist at the moment. (As an example, I can mention that the alliance of the MDF, the Christian Democratic People's Party, and the Federation of Young Democrats helped the extremists of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party into power, although mathematically this could have been avoided.) Nevertheless, all in all, it seems there is a tendency toward seeing parties committed to parliamentary democracy separate themselves from the extreme groups—and this is positive. The other positive development is the fact that it was possible to establish a socialist-liberal government coalition. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Do you seriously believe that the extremes can still be a danger?

[Kis] First of all, we must not draw far-reaching conclusions from the defeat of the Nazi-scented extreme right. With its anti-Semitism and irredentism, this group is simply anachronistic. Society is essentially immune to this group. However, it is not certain that it is equally immune to the other, more modern versions of racism and xenophobia to which many people—even in democracies with long traditions—are receptive. To use abusive language about Jews on the radio is not allowed, but

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a public official can brazenly say into the microphone that unemployment would disappear if we sent all foreigners home.

In other words, the anachronistic extreme right has so far not left any space for the modern extreme right. Its failure actually creates space for an extremism that is much more dangerous. Second, not all people have yet accepted parliamentary democracy. Nostalgia for the presidential system still exists, and such people do not appear only on the peripheries.

Why is this a problem? First of all, in uncertain situations, presidential power can either be a factor of the instability—such as now, in Poland—or a factor ofdictatorial intentions, as in the case of Russia. In addition to this, a constitutional change of this magnitude that would be brought about by the direct election of the president—and its consequences—would inevitably create a feeling of temporariness. What we need, however, is for the country to perceive the established institutions as permanent. Therefore, the Republic's stability depends largely on whether or not the community of democratic parties agrees on the need to maintain the constitutional order that was established in 1989-1990 and whether or not it is willing to express this agreement. Creating a final Constitution would be the best way to express this agreement. [passage omitted]

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Government Criticizes Report on Low Credit Rating

WS1101130395 Warsaw BIURO PRASOWE RZADU INFORMACJA in Polish 2354 GMT 10 Jan 95

[Declaration on "Poland Unreliable?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In reference to a news item published on the front page of today's GAZETA WYBORCZA under the title "Poland Unreliable?" and quoted by Presidential Spokesman Leszek Spalinski, the Government Press Office declares the following:

The report published on the front page of GAZETA WYBORCZA today is manipulative and has nothing to do with the U.S.'s evaluations of Poland's credit rating. GAZETA WYBORCZA's correspondent Jacek Kalabinski distorted the opinion of an agency preparing so-called ranking lists of countries from all over the world. Factors taken into consideration include: the balance between export revenues and debt service, the balance between debt and the GDP, and per capita debt. According to these criteria, for many years now Poland has been ranked on a stable level, behind such countries as the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, which have a comparable debt, and also—what Kalabinski unnecessarily 'corrects'—behind Romania because Romania has practically cleared its debt due to Ceausescu's Draconian policy.

Poland's internationally acclaimed achievements in macroeconomics in 1994 could not have caused such a dramatic drop in ranking. This has nothing to do with the speeding up or possible slowdown of privatization.

Publishing the distorted information by GAZETA WYBORCZA on the eve of Deputy Prime Minister Grzegorz Kolodko's trip to the United States, where he is to meet with President Bill Clinton, creates an unfavorable climate for the foreign visit.

In 1994, Poland did not lose its international status. That status even improved, due to an effort by all of its citizens, as well as to government policy, of which both GAZETA WYBORCZA and the president's spokesman are well aware.

[signed] Mariusz Kosieradzki
Deputy Director of the Government Press Office

Uzbekistan President Comments on Chechnya

LD1101155795 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1434 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 11 Jan—When asked by journalists today how he assessed the situation in Chechnya, Islam Karimov, the president of Uzbekistan, who is on an official visit to Poland, said that it is a tragedy for Russia and that its consequences could have a negative impact on other countries also.

"We understand that Chechnya is part of the Russian Federation and that Russian laws and the Constitution are in force on its territory, and we are in favor of stability and territorial integrity of the federation, but we think arms cannot be used against a nation," the president of Uzbekistan said.

Court Rules on Company Board Membership, Pay

LD1201094695 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0900 GMT 12 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Constitutional Tribunal has ruled today that the holding of posts on company boards, as defined by commercial law, is possible only if the company is co-owned by the State Treasury and if the person represents the interests of the State Treasury in this company.

At the same time, the Constitutional Tribunal has ruled that payments received for participation in company boards constitutes a salary. This means that a state official who has accepted a post in a company board must choose one salary.

The tribunal will now examine a motion from the president, who has filed a complaint with relation to the entire budget law for this year.

Ruling Pleases Justice Ministry

LD1201100795 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0810 GMT 12 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Unidentified announcer] On the phone we have Andrzej Cubala, press spokesman for the justice minister.

Good morning. Can we have your comment after you heard the legal interpretation of the Constitutional Tribunal?

[Cubala] The position of the Constitutional Tribunal is unequivocal, and I must say that it satisfies Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, prime minister and prosecutor general, very much [as heard]. There are no points in the tribunal's position that would allow any other interpretation. It is also very good that, in the justification of the ruling delivered by Professor Andrzej Zoll, there were also words of criticism that were addressed to the Finance Ministry's legal services, the legal office of the Council of Ministers, and the Presidential Chancellery.

It has turned out that all of those interpretations presented earlier and quoted, particularly by those who were included on the list of 57, have no legal justification. It is very good that this has been included in the ruling passed by the highest court in Poland, the Constitutional Tribunal.

It seems to me that this ruling will now allow the extension of the action of checking whether the anticorruption law is being observed. It is too early to talk about further measures and actions. However, the tribunal's

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ruling will clear the air around the Clean Hands campaign. It will at last allow the establishment of the legal status of high-ranking state officials similar to rulings in existence in the West and in civilized countries.

I would also like to add that this will allow the commencement of legislative measures aimed at amending the anticorruption law, because it needs certain corrections to avoid interpretations by high-ranking officials for their own benefit.

[Announcer] Thank you very much. That was Andrzej Cubala, press spokesman for the justice minister.

Justice: FM Should Resign

LD1201123895 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 12 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Justice Ministry spokesman Andrzej Cubala has told Polish Radio that it transpires unequivocally from the legal ruling announced by the Constitutional Tribunal on 12 January that Foreign Minister [FM] Olechowski broke the law and should resign.

[Begin recording] [Cubala] One can say that the situation that has arisen as a result of the Constitutional Tribunal ruling clears the air. In other words, it unequivocally, without a shadow of a doubt and without leaving even a small margin for interpretation, determines that membership of company boards, as defined by the commercial law, constitutes holding another post, in accordance with the law of 1981 on pay for state officials. The ruling also specifies that any income received by leading state officials as a result of their participation in company boards constitutes a salary. In other words, these people are not allowed to receive two or three salaries.

[Unidentified correspondent] Consequently, Minister Olechowski can now resign in peace?

[Cubala] Yes, now there is nothing else to which he can refer, unless he says that the Constitutional Tribunal is a poor court body. Then, you can just give up. [end recording]

Meanwhile, according to Constitutional Tribunal spokesman Adam Jankiewicz, the tribunal's interpretation comes into force today, which means that state officials who are on company boards and received double salaries did not break the law. According to the spokesman, one can accept that these persons acted in good faith.

MSZ Reaction Expected

LD1201111495 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1038 GMT 12 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 12 Jan—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ] will comment on 13 January on the ruling by the Constitutional Tribunal on the so-called Clean Hands issue, MSZ spokesman Krzysztof Sliwinski said today. He said that, for the time being, he could only express satisfaction that the Tribunal's ruling "had been issued at last."

"It is a pity that it took so long," he added.

Sliwinski said that he was not authorized to interpret the Constitutional Tribunal's ruling in detail. An interpretation will be provided by Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski at a news conference on 13 January.

The Tribunal ruled on Thursday that the participation on company boards, as defined by the commercial law, by leading state officials is allowed only when the person represents in the company the interests of the State Treasury (as was the case with Minister Andrzej Olechowski). However, the person should then receive only one salary.

"The justification of the ruling said that the law was interpreted in good faith and that this did not discredit anyone" (the people receiving two salaries), Adam Jankiewicz, spokesman for the Tribunal, told journalists. He said that the Constitutional Tribunal's interpretation took effect on 11 January.

Two Rightist Blocs Agree on Common Program

WS1201105695 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Jan 95 p 2

[Article by M.D.Z.: "Evening Meetings of Right; In Direction of Compromise"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During an afternoon meeting on 10 January, leaders of the 10 parties of the Covenant for Poland [PdP] and the 11 November Accord [P11L] reached a compromise and prepared a draft of common programmatic principles that are to be adopted by the conference of the right, scheduled to be held on 14 January in the building of the Warsaw Polytechnic University.

One of the controversial issues was a provision concerning Poland's desire to join NATO. Doubts concerning this were recently expressed by the Union for Real Politics [UPR] and the Christian-National Union [ZChN]. Finally it was agreed that, in the draft version, the name of NATO would not be mentioned.

In the draft of the joint declaration, the right wing of the PdP and P11L excludes any possibility of cooperation with the Democratic Left Alliance and the Polish Peasant Party as well as with other leftist groupings. It was decided that the "10" would make efforts to field a common candidate in the presidential elections. However, there is no agreement as to a joint ticket in the elections. Such an idea is still opposed by the parties of Aleksander Hall (Conservative Party—PK) and Artur Balazs (Peasant-Christian Party), as well as by the ZChN.

The compromise reached by the ZChN and the rest of the PdP (Center Accord—PC, Conservative Coalition—

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KK, Polish Peasant Party-Peasant Accord) was slightly weakened by the meeting of the St. Catherine covenant, organized by Father Jozef May. At the meeting, a special coordination commission was set up, which was made up of independence-oriented and center-rightist groupings, "Solidarity," as well as the ZChN and the Movement for the Republic. The other parties of the "10"—PC, UPR, KK, PK, Party of Christian Democrats, SLCh, and National Democratic Party—refused to participate in the work of the commission. "The coordination commission is supposed to be a joint programmatic platform and should make it possible for us to run in the elections together in the future. The parties of the PdP and P11L decided earlier that they would agree to cooperate with 'S' and the center right that is close to it only in the campaign before the constitutional referendum," RZECZPOSPOLITA learned from Marek Kotlarski, of the KK, which refused to work in the commission.

Nevertheless, the parties that did not join the work of the commission are still willing to take part in subsequent meetings of the St. Catherine covenant.

Walesa Awards Bonuses to Three Generals

LD1101220695 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] The presidential press office confirmed that Lech Walesa awarded bonuses to three generals from the General Staff of the Polish Army. The spokesman for the General Staff said that those generals were omitted in awards granted around Christmas by the national defense minister and that was why the president awarded these. We have learned that the bonuses were granted to General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of General Staff; General Leon Komornicki, his deputy chief of staff; and General Zdzislaw Ornatowski, chief of the Silesian Military District.

The presidential press office did not give specific amounts but said that the bonuses were close to those awarded by the defense minister. Last year the highest ministerial award amounted to 25,000,000 zlotys [Z]. The TRYBUNA daily reported that General Wilecki had supposedly received Z400,000,000, his deputies Z250,000,000, and heads of military districts Z120,000,000 each. The daily also wrote that nobody wanted to comment on the reports about the bonuses. The General Staff today announced that the article in the TRYBUNA daily was an attempt to discredit Polish Army leaders and was a political provocation.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] May I ask you to comment on today's press reports on bonuses for those attending the dinner with the president at the Drawsko military training ground?

[Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy] Thank you very much. Any further questions?

[Correspondent] What about you general?

[Gen. Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of staff] I am on my way to pick up the money.

[Jozef Oleksy] General, they will broadcast this. I would advise you to deny it immediately. [end recording]

[Announcer] The awarded generals participated in the dinner at Drawsko on 30 September of last year. During this dinner, in the president's presence, leaders of the Polish Army spoke against the civilian leadership of the Ministry of National Defense.

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Weapons Manufacturing Activities Resumed

AU1101191695 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 Jan 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Activity is Almost Normal at the Weapons Manufacturing Enterprise in Zarnesi"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The weapons manufacturing enterprise in Zarnesti has resumed its activities. Since January 1994, most of the technicians and engineers in this enterprise have been working normally: that is, four days a week. Currently, the number of designs for various types of weapons has increased. Production itself, however, has not increased. According to statements made by a number of workers from this enterprise, before 1989 people were working more and designing less, while now, it is the other way around However, there is still some hope of revival and and recovery in weapons production, because there are prospects for concluding several export contracts.

PSM Leaders Resign, Call for New Party

AU1101172395 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During an extraordinary news conference today, a group of seven members of the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM] leadership—Vice Presidents Tudor Mohora, Traian Dudas, and Maria Lazar and Secretaries Gheorghe Cazan, Alexandru Chitera, Gheorghe Raboaca, and Ani Matei—announced that they have stepped down from their offices in the PSM and renounced their party membership.

The declaration of the seven says: We cannot passively watch the renewed confiscation of socialist ideas and ideals in our country, and we hereby appeal to all who feel attached to socialist ideals and who wish to give a chance to genuinely democratic socialism in Romania to join us in our attempt to set up a new political party. Our option is for a modern, European-type, and democratic socialism, in line with the Romanian socialist tradition, a socialism that should be able to fight for social justice, progress, and the promotion of national interests.

The declaration also says that the positive evolution of the PSM was interrupted in the summer of 1993 when, quote, they began to gradually abandon the fundamental aspirations of their own electorate, which were subordinated to the interests of certain individuals in the party leadership, unquote.

Our correspondent Daniel Ruse informs us that according to the signers of the declaration, all their attempts to broach these negative aspects in the activity of the PSM—made both during the 1993 and 1994 plenary sessions and the second party convention—ran up against the opposition of certain persons belonging to the top leadership of the party.

RMDSZ Chairman on Issue of Tokes's Past

AU1101174895 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 7 Jan 95 pp 1, 10

[Interview with RMDSZ Chairman Bela Marko by Ferenc Kepecs; place and date not given: "Tokes Only Signed, But Was Not an Agent"]

[FBIS Translated Text]*A meeting of the operative council of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian] that mainly examined the issue of the accusations made against Laszlo Tokes [Presbyterian bishop] ended on 6 January in Marosvasarhely [Targu Mures]. These accusations were formulated after Tokes stated at a news conference on 15 December that, in the past, the Securitate had forced him to sign certain documents. The Romanian press, and RMDSZ leader Benedek Nagy along with it, took this as an admission by Tokes of having been an informer for the state police. We asked Bela Marko on the telephone what happened at the meeting of the operative council.*

[Marko] We held the view that as a result of the Romanian press attacks on Tokes—and thus on the RMDSZ—tensions were created in our Union that made it necessary to convene this body, especially since Benedek Nagy, a deputy who is one of our parliamentary colleagues, distributed leaflets following the press reports and thus created much confusion in the operative council and in the RMDSZ as a whole.

[Kepecs] What did you decide in the end?

[Marko] The operative council issued a statement saying that outside attacks on the Union and its external officials have increased recently. The goal of these attacks is to divide the RMDSZ, to alienate it from the Hungarian community that it represents, to incite mistrust in its leaders, and to prevent the assertion of its autonomy policy. In the interest of protecting itself against such attacks, the operative council called on the RMDSZ's organizations to be as united as possible in their actions. The council stated that it considers the Romanian press attacks on Tokes, who is the RMDSZ's honorary chairman, subversive in intent. In the council's view, Tokes has already satisfactorily replied, in writing, to these accusations. The council sees this issue as clear and unequivocal.

[Kepecs] Does this mean that you fully supported Tokes and censured Nagy?

[Marko] The operative council referred Nagy's leaflet to the national ethics committee. However, since ethical errors were also made in connection with this leaflet—the publicity, the dissemination—we have also referred these to the ethics committee. Nagy himself was censured by the territorial organization in Csik [Ciuc] and expelled. Well, the operative council asked for these decisions to be suspended.

[Kepecs] Why? Are you not weakening the effect of supporting Tokes by this action?

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[Marko] We asked them to suspend the decision until the ethics committee has examined the issue and made an appropriate recommendation. We believe that, in making a decision of such magnitude, an ethical assessment is essential.

[Kepecs] Did you address the role the mass media played in this issue? Certain organs in Hungary also reflected the Romanian attitude.

[Marko] Naturally, because the statement Tokes made at the news conference later appeared in a very distorted form in various media. We also discussed the way certain external factors and press statements can disturb the life of the organization; therefore, the council stated that it considers certain public polemics to be harmful. Internal matters of the organization have to be resolved within the organization. Naturally, we are not talking about excluding publicity.

PDSR, Parties To Sign 'Cooperation Pact'

AU1101215095 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting held tonight, members of the permanent delegation of the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] discussed the stage of negotiations with the PUNR [National Romanian Unity Party], PRM [Greater Romania Party], and PSM [Socialist Party of Labor] in connection with concluding a cooperation pact between the four parties.

According to the statement made at the end of the meeting by Adrian Nastase, president of the PDSR executive body, the text of the protocol agreed upon during a meeting held yesterday is, quote, in principle acceptable from our point of view, unquote.

In Mr. Nastase's opinion, quote, taking into account the latest evolutions in the PSM, which will need to be clarified by the end of this week, the protocol will most probably be signed at the end of next week, unquote.

Nastase also said: From our viewpoint, the full authority with which the PSM negotiators came to the meeting was correct. Therefore, we have no difficulty whatsoever in accepting the position expressed by the representatives of this party during the discussions.

Our correspondent Daniel Ruse informs us that, also, the permanent delegation of the PDSR tonight discussed the organization of a managerial course in connection with the PDSR's electoral campaign—an important decision, according to Mr. Adrian Nastase, because future elections will be based mainly on professionals and experts in image and in conveying the political message,

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Serb Official: Carter Could Return Before 15 Jan

BR1101164595 Paris LE MONDE in French 7 Jan 95 p 4

[Report on interview with Aleksa Buha, "foreign minister" of the "Serbian republic" of Bosnia, by Remy Ourdan in Pale; date not given: "Peace Seen by the Serbs"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pale—[passage omitted] The cease-fire is respected in the sector and the Serbs would like it to be turned into a strong peace. Since the visit by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter two weeks ago, the Serbs of Pale have once again started to hope that the international community will change its attitude toward them. They want their state in the framework of a confederation with Serbia. They hope they will not have to hand back any of the 70 percent of the territory which they have conquered. That is why the current "cessation of hostilities" pleases them, because it helps to freeze the lines of confrontation.

"We are not rejecting the 'Contact Group' peace plan but we do not accept it either. As stipulated in the agreement signed with Mr. Carter, that plan should serve as the basis for future negotiations," Aleksa Buha, foreign "minister" of the self- proclaimed "Serbian republic" in Bosnia, stated. When the "Contact Group" (comprising the United States, Russia, Germany, France, and Britain) presented this peace plan in July 1994, it urged the warring factions to accept it before the opening of new discussions, and Sarajevo, Zagreb, and Belgrade did so. Only the Serbian separatists of Bosnia rejected it firmly and on several occasions.

"We think that thanks to the visit by Mr. Carter and to this agreement to end hostilities, we have taken an essential step toward peace," Aleksa Buha continued. "The problem is that the 'Contact Group' is not doing its work. Since July 1994, we have had no contact with those diplomats. I do not know why they have been paid to do nothing for six months."

The message of the Bosnian Serbs is clear: They want to renegotiate the peace plan and are supported in their intransigence by the Russian and French statements on a possible confederation with Serbia and Montenegro. For a long time, they had been demanding a "cessation of hostilities" accompanied by a deployment of "blue helmets" on the front lines to protect their lands from reconquest by the Bosnian Government Army, which is growing stronger by the day.

Jimmy Carter and the UN Protection Force are implicitly serving their objectives and the Serbs would like the "Contact Group" to join them. "The agreement signed at Mr. Carter's initiative states that all the parties involved in the conflict should be treated equally," Aleksa Buha also explained. "We must work on the basis of this point. It must be recognized that the Serbs have the same right to sovereignty as the Croatian-Muslim federation." In order to continue to work in that direction, the "minister" of foreign affairs said that Pale hopes that Jimmy Carter will return. "I like him," he explained. "I like his way of listening to people. We have not yet received any confirmation, but Mr. Carter could well return here before 15 January." Although this visit has not been announced either by Jimmy Carter or by anybody else, the Serbs are already dreaming of it. The former U.S. president has become their "Western hero."

The Carrot and the Stick

"Let us make things clear," Mr. Buha concluded. "Our future is in the Americans' hands. France, Britain, and even Russia are countries which will say 'yes.' It is the United States which decides. And I am afraid that the Republican majority in Congress supports the Muslims, which will encourage them to continue the war. If the embargo on arms supplies is lifted, then the war will be even worse and there will be even more bloodshed."

Aleksa Buha uses the carrot and stick alternately. His "government" is counting on the implementation of the agreement recently concluded to ratify the army's conquests, to bury the peace plan, and to force the West to recognize that in Bosnia-Herzegovina the Serbs have finally won a war and are now waiting to gather the fruits of their victory.

First Aid Convoy of New Year Arrives in Bihac

AU1101152895 Paris AFP in English 1503 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Jan 11 (AFP)—The first aid convoy of 1995 supplying civilians trapped in Bihac reached the centre of the embattled northwest Bosnian enclave Wednesday [11 January], a UN aid official said here.

Alemka Lisinski, spokeswoman for the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said: "The convoy of eight trucks with essential food supplies is unloading in Cazin, the main UNHCR warehouse in the Bihac pocket."

In line with previous arrangements, two further trucks were unloaded in Velika Kladusa, the stronghold of rebel Moslem leader Fikret Abdic in the north of the pocket.

Bosnian and Croatian Serb forces besieging the pocket have held up aid convoys into Bihac since last May, but the humanitarian situation for the more then 200,000 civilians trapped there had become critical since fighting broke out in late summer.

Only three convoys were granted clearance to enter the pocket in December.

West Bosnia Protests Aid to Bosnian Government

LD1101155695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1530 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Drvar, Jan. 11 (TANJUG)—Government of the Muslim autonomous province of

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west Bosnia has protested to humanitarian organisations for aiding only their opponents - the Sarajevo Muslim government.

'Today as well, when we returned home, we realised that your convoys reach only our enemies', said the protest reported by Velkaton Radio in the town of Velika Kladusa, the center of the autonomous province of west Bosnia.

The autonomous province of west Bosnia was formed after a referendum in September 1993 as its leader Fikret Abdic split with Alija Izetbegovic and the Sarajevo Muslim government.

In August 1993, in an attempt to crush the province and Abdic's troops, Izetbegovic sent troops which occupied nearly the whole province.

That has forced about 60,000 supporters of Fikret Abdic, mainly children, women and the elderly to flee the province and seek refuge in the republic of Serb Krajina.

After inter-Muslim fighting resumed in November 1994, Abdic's troops have succeeded in recapturing most of their former territories to which refugees were slowly returning.

Foreign Minister Interviewed About Cease-Fire

AU1101175495 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Jan 95 p 2

[Interview with Bosnian Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic by Janos Kobanyai; place and date not given: "This Is Not Yet Peace—The War Can Delay Bosnia's European Integration"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic (43 years old), who is a doctor in civilian life, is extremely skeptical regarding the cease-fire and the prospects for peace. As he told MAGYAR HIRLAP, he had participated in organizing the unarmed Bosnian defense force and spent 17 months in Bihac, where maintaining links with the international organizations was his main task. He was appointed foreign minister on 1 November 1993 on the basis of the results he achieved in Bihac.

[Kobanyai] The most topical issue is the fate of the cease- fire that came into force a few days ago. Many people tend to see peace in this.

[Ljubijankic] I can say that this is not at all so. This is only a possibility to talk about peace. However, quite frankly, the cease-fire itself has not come into force. Bihac is still being attacked. The area of Krupa (north-eastern district of Bihac) is under fire. The Bosnian, Krajinan, and of course Serbian Serbs have gathered a huge force and they want to force a decision on the outcome of the war at this weakest of our points. The 5th Corps is defending this area without any international help. If the military maneuvers at Bihac are not stopped, then the cease-fire will not last long, although we are doing everything to observe it. The opening of the blue routes is the other condition of the cease-fire. Time is being wasted again and again with impossible demands at the talks at Sarajevo airport. However, I repeat that it is the Bihac fighting that most threatens a lasting cease-fire and the series of talks that have not yet been started on the political settlement.

[Kobanyai] "Muslim government," "Muslim army"—the formulations of the world press reflect deeply rooted prejudices. How do you react to this?

[Ljubijankic] We have a special situation regarding both politics and culture. It is very true that the vast majority of Bosnia's and Herzegovina's population have a Muslim religion or tradition. However, this is not at all like the kind of Muslim country one can find in Asia or Africa. We are Europeans—in the form of the state and in the geopolitical and cultural sense. We wish to be integrated into Europe. The destruction caused by the war delays this. We are trying to explain our special situation to our partners with the utmost patience—to explain our attachment to the European democratic and secular social systems and to continuing our multicultural traditions. I, for example, am a Muslim and a believer. I am proud of my traditions, However, my being European is also part of these traditions.

[Kobanyai] However, you do have especially good relations with the Muslim countries and the international organizations that are set up on a Muslim basis.

[Ljubijankic] This is true. It would be difficult for us to get by without their help. We also receive humanitarian aid from the European countries in the form of food, medicine, and other useful items, but we only receive money from the Muslim countries. A country that is forced into a military economy and is without production means also needs money for its operation. Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, the Gulf emirates, and Malaysia are among our main helpers.

[Kobanyai] Would it be possible to name the sums?

[Ljubijankic] They cover our costs.

[Kobanyai] Are there any conditions attached to this aid?

[Ljubijankic] Not in a political sense. This is a manifestation of the Islamic world's solidarity. However, undoubtedly, they will also want to rely on us in the long term, in peace time. The level of schooling, the mental infrastructure of our citizens is still very good, we have a lot of scientific and technical know-how. Long-term investments are being planned on this basis. There is a definite interest in us standing on our own feet as soon as possible.

[Kobanyai] Talking of interests, I would like to turn to Hungarian-Bosnian relations. Did Geza Jeszenszky's [former foreign minister] April 1994 visit have any concrete results?

[Ljubijankic] We always think of Hungary with pleasure because of our common history, among other reasons. We owe much to the years of the [Austro-Hungarian]

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monarchy, that was when Bosnia stepped into the modern age. We also appreciate Hungary's recent results, its positive role in the European movements of integration. With Jeszenszky, we discussed our mutual interest in peace.

[Kobanyai] Any concrete economic plans?

[Ljubijankic] For the moment, we have nothing to offer.

[Kobanyai] You have nothing to offer to the Muslim countries, either, but they are already ensuring their place in the peacetime restoration and investment markets.

[Ljubijankic] Hungary could have a serious role in this because it is almost a neighboring country. Agricultural products would have a major market here.

[Kobanyai] Will you raise special topics during the visit of Laszlo Kovacs, foreign minister of the new Hungarian Government, which is planned for 20 January?

[Ljubijankic] We are warmly expecting him. This visit also fits into the process of mutual exchanges of views and contacts. We will show him the way we are living. We will review the possibilities where we can make joint steps to help solve the conflict. I, personally, have met him twice. First at the consultation of the Central European Initiative in Turin and recently in Budapest at the CSCE meeting.

[Kobanyai] The CSCE summit was not successful for Bosnia (either).

[Ljubijankic] We have a different view. We brought our problems and determined views into the international limelight.

[Kobanyai] What are your views on Chechnya?

[Ljubijankic] However similar the photos are, and we sympathize with them, the situations are fundamentally different. We deeply condemn the Russian Government's brutality. Accidentally, grozni means terrible in our language. The latest joke is derived from this: Someone here is asked how he is feeling? The answer is grozni. And in Groznyy? The answer is Sarajevo.

TANJUG Update on Observation of Cease-Fire

LD1101164195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1631 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan. 11 (TANJUG)—The agreement on a four-month cessation of hostilities in Bosnia- Herzegovina is honored fully by the Serbs and mostly by the Muslims and Croats.

TANJUG on Wednesday quoted sources close to the Bosnian Serb army general staff as saying that over the past 24 hours Croatian and Bosnian Croat joint forces fired from tanks and artillery and multi- rocket launchers on the Grahovo-Livno front in western Bosnia.

The Muslim army violated the agreement on the Ozren-Vozuce front in northern Bosnia.

There was sporadic firing on other battlefields, but without any losses on the Serb side.

In full respect for the agreement, which took effect on Jan. 1, the Serb forces did not respond to the attacks, said the sources.

Official Blames Muslims for Energy Situation

LD1101183695 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] As a result of the agreement on the use of electricity from the Rama hydroelectric plant by Muslim electricity supply authorities being broken, and increased consumption of electricity this winter, there is a threat that the system may collapse and that electricity in Herzeg-Bosna may disappear altogether, Mate Jurkovic, the director of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna's electricity supply company, said today in a statement to our radio. Here is his statement:

[Begin Jurkovic recording] The electricity supply situation in the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna is unfortunately not improving. On the contrary, it is deteriorating and becoming more complicated. Appeals to people to reduce their consumption have obviously not yet borne fruit. The Rama hydroelectric plant is working at full capacity and the reservoir is being emptied very rapidly, which means we are getting into an increasingly difficult situation.

Unfortunately, I must mention here that we have not met with the support of the Bosnian electricity supply authorities, or rather (?the area) of Bosnia-Herzegovina controlled by the Bosniak Muslim side, because they have not matched their consumption with available supplies, so that increasingly they are taking electricity from Herzeg-Bosna and even Croatia.

About 0.7 million kwh is supplied from the Rama hydroelectric plant each day, while between 0.5 million and 1 million kwh are supplied from Dalmatia each day, which means that we have got into a situation in which the electricity supply system will collapse.

We have received numerous warnings recently from the Croatian electricity supply authorities to reduce trade between the Bosnia- Herzegovina Federation and the Croatian electricity supply system to zero, but obviously this cannot be ensured here. Yesterday, we were warned that we would be divided into two systems in Bosnia-Herzegovina. If this happens it will be a drastic situation for consumers in the Federation.

The reason for this is that in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, despite the fact that we are producing enough for our own consumption—and a surplus of electricity—from Rama, in the Bosnian part of the Federation, consumption outstrips production. In this case, if the system is divided into two in this way, there will be a collapse and major problems in reestablishing the same. There could be several days of without power before the system is reestablished. [passage omitted] [end recording]

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Zubak Threatens Military Action Against Serbs

LD1101183595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1816 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Jan. 11 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Croat republic of Herzeg-Bosna president Kresimir Zubak on Wednesday said Bosnian Croat army would take the Sava River valley in the north of the Bosnian Serb republic.

Zubak, who is also the president of the Muslim-Croat federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, said on the Zagreb-based Croatian TV that, unless the Bosnian warring sides reached a lasting agreement by May 1, the Bosnian Croat army would launch an offensive in the Sava River valley and in other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Zubak said, 'it (the Bosnian Croat army) will then liberate the Croat land, just as it has recently done in (the towns of) Kupres, Glamoc and Grahovo (in western Bosnian Serb republic).'

The Bosnian Croat army, assisted by Croatia's regular troops, mounted an offensive on Kupres in November and on Glamoc and Grahovo in December and captured the area, torching nearly all Bosnian Serb villages in it and driving out about 10,000 Serbs, which has been confirmed also by the United Nations Protection Force.

Zubak announced the Bosnian Croat military action at a time when a four-month ceasefire has been in force in Bosnia-Herzegovina for 11 days and the warring sides agreed to resume peace talks.

Bosnian Croats Discuss Situation in Mostar Area

LD1101184295 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Under the chairmanship of Dario Kordic, members of the presidency of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the government of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna had a meeting today with a delegation of the HDZ's Mostar Municipal Committee and the Municipal Council of Mostar, the presidency of the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina has announced.

The statement says that they discussed the political and security situation in Mostar and the implementation of the HDZ's policy in Mostar municipality, in the light of the agreement on the EU [European Union] administration of Mostar. They adopted several decisions and conclusions.

1. the program declaration of the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the program declaration of the Mostar HDZ Municipal Committee are the official starting point, and they must be respected in the process of drawing up and implementing the policy of the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Mostar municipality. The most senior representatives of the political and executive authorities of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna and officials in Mostar confirmed their readiness to implement consistently the agreement on the EU administration of Mostar. They rejected any additional conditions and arbitrary interpretations of the agreement and expressed their readiness to cooperate with the EU administration, in line Article 2 of the agreement. They denounced all activity that could prejudice the final political solution.

2. The participants in the meeting today unanimously agreed that Mostar municipality could be set up only as one divided into several municipalities, in line with the Constitution of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Federation.

3. They lent support to the Mostar Municipal Council for their measures enhancing the activity of the law-governed state that will prevent the violation of residential and business property, as well as construction and all other activity carried out without permission from the relevant state bodies, and secure the rights of war veterans and invalids.

4. The reconstruction and revival of the economy in Mostar will be carried out in cooperation with relevant bodies of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna and the Mostar Municipal Council, and will be orientated toward closer business links with the economy of the Republic of Croatia.

5. Tribute is paid and support given to the future work of the commander and members of the Mostar police station who have improved personal safety and security of property, and have been effective in combating crime.

This is said at the end of the statement signed by Dario Kordic, the chairman of the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Further Reports on Fighting in Bihac Area

AU1101192695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 95

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] Attacks by Karadzic's and Martic's Chetniks on the Bihac district continued today. The situation was again the gravest around Velika Kladusa. Namely, Martic's and Abdic's Chetniks from the territory of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina have been shelling the defense lines and civilian settlements there—which are being destroyed once again—all this time.

During the day, the Chetniks attempted infantry breakthroughs on several occasions. Their attacks were particularly intense in the area of Brezovo Polje.

All of today's attacks, especially the afternoon ones, were routed and the aggressor suffered great losses in manpower and military hardware. The aggressor's attacks have subsided a bit this evening.

During the day, Karadzic's Chetniks intensified attacks on the Bosanska Krupa front and, thus, we cannot speak

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of cease-fire violations at all in this area, but merely of occasional lulls in between Chetnik attacks. In this area, the united aggressor shelled settlements as well as the defense lines.

There was shelling of the Bihac region, were the town's water pipeline is an almost constant target, as well as vital installations in the suburbs. Sporadic Chetnik provocations and attacks have been noted all day and in the evening hours along all front lines in the theater of operations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps and the General Staff of the Croatian Defense Council of Bihac.

Fighting 'Still Going Strong'

LD1101221595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] has assessed that there were no major cease-fire violations in Bosnia- Herzegovina, despite the fact that artillery duels are continuing in the Bihac enclave between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and Fikret Abdic-led Muslim rebels. In the past 24 hours, UN observers registered about 200 artillery explosions and exchanges of small arms fire near Velika Kladusa. It appears that the rebel Croatian Serbs, who fought alongside Abdic's forces, are not taking part in these battles, UNPROFOR's spokesman in Sarajevo Herve Gourmelon said.

UNPROFOR's spokesman, however, has not mentioned the battles near Bihac, which are still going strong. We have a special statement on this by General Vlado Santic, Croatian Defense Council [HVO] commander in the Bihac pocket:

[Begin Santic recording] Attacks were coming from the direction of the Republic of Croatia all day long. Some 20 minutes ago, the HVO repelled these attacks by Serb chetniks. Croatian houses were badly damaged. Many civilians were wounded. Sporadic exchanges of fire can be heard at the moment, but we are expecting chetnik attacks to resume in the night. [end recording]

Further Report

AU1201103395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 12 Jan 95

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] The combat operations in the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army 5th Corps theater of operations continued overnight and this morning on almost all the front lines. Fierce fighting is raging in the region of Velika Kladusa with Martic's Chetniks and Fikret Abdic's paramilitaries. The 5th Corps defense lines are under constant artillery and tank fire from the so-called Serbian Krajina in the UN Protected Areas. The Chetnik artillery from the occupied Croatian territories is destroying residential areas and villages in the Bihac district. There are many civilian casualties in addition to the destruction and immense material damage. The fierce battles around Velika Kladusa have entered their fifth day and are in progress as I report.

In the Bosanska Krupa region, the aggressor on Cojub Hill—following artillery preparations—attempted to break through the 5th Corps defense [words indistinct], but following a fierce response by our defenders, was pushed back to initial positions.

There was no peace on [words indistinct]. Sniper and small arms fire, sporadically punctuated by shelling of the defense lines, were also reported. There was no peace in the Croatian Defense Council theater of operations. Frequent provocations and open attacks in the region of Zegar, Vedro Polje, and Klokot are dangerously endangering the signed cease-fire.

Muslim Army Blocks UNPROFOR Base at Tuzla

LD1101203095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2021 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan. 11 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Muslim army on Wednesday blocked a United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) base in the northern Bosnian town of Tuzla, said an UNPROFOR spokesman.

Maj. Herve Gourmelon said the blockade had created an unacceptable situation.

In the early morning hours, Muslim troops placed barriers, trucks and guard with full combat equipment at the entrance to the UNPROFOR base, which is used by 450 U.N. soldiers, said UNPROFOR spokesman in Tuzla Captain Philip Jerichow.

'The effect of this is that no personnel, military or civilian, can enter or leave the Tuzla airbase,' the REUTER news agency quoted Cap. Jerichow as saying.

He said the move had come in protest at the presence of a Bosnian Serb liaison officer at the UNPROFOR base at Tuzla airport.

The spokesman said the Serb officer had been invited to the base as part of the general ceasefire agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina that came into effect on Jan. 1.

Izetbegovic Appeals to UN Over Violations

AU1101200195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In light of the violations of the cease-fire agreement, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Presidency, today sent a letter to the UN Security Council [UNSC] chairman in which he stated that our side has accepted the cease-fire and the cessation of hostilities on the basis of the 24 and 31 December agreements in the hope that this would lead to peace throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the hope of a just and lasting peace.

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Unfortunately, this goal has not been accomplished. While the Bosnian Serbs continue to violate the agreement on the cessation of hostilities as another method of undermining the Contact Group peace plan, their accomplices, the Croatian Serbs, continue their military engagement in the aggression on the Bihac region, across the Bosnia- Herzegovina border.

At our meeting in Sarajevo, the representatives of the UN Protection Force confirmed that the attacks had not been halted and that they could not confirm that the Serbs from Croatia had pulled back to the other side of the border.

We demand that the UNSC reiterate its call for an end to this aggression and that the invasion troops withdraw without delay.

A failure to respond adequately to this challenge would undermine the fragile cease-fire in our republic and also constitute a violation of international law, according to which we retain the right to respond in any way available to us.

Generals Meet at Sarajevo Airport, Sign Agreement

LD1201003595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A UN-brokered meeting was held at Sarajevo airport between Army General Rasim Delic, Gen. Tihomir Blaskic, and Gen. Ratko Mladic, commander of the aggressor Serb side. The meeting was devoted to implementing the agreement on the cessation of hostilities. The outcome of the meeting was defined in a series of concrete tasks, which have been incorporated into the agreement, which we are carrying in full:

The decisions adopted:

The sides have agreed to refrain from using language that undermines the agreement on the total cessation of hostilities and, on the whole, to refrain from using provocative language in mass media. They also agreed to hold meetings of regional joint commissions on the front line, to be decided at the level of commanders of the central joint commissions.

The sides also agreed that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] would define the existing front lines in agreement with the sides, and the maps defined in this way would be agreed upon by 31 January 1995.

As far as the front line around the town of Sarajevo, it will be restored to the positions held on 9 February 1994.

UNPROFOR will prepare a draft proposal with the sides on full freedom of movement by 18 January 1995.

The next separate meetings will take place on 12 January 1995: at 1030 [local time] a meeting, to be chaired by UNPROFOR, to concentrate on terms of implementing the agreement of 17 March 1994, with the aim of reopening roads for civilian and humanitarian traffic as soon as possible and not later than 14 January 1995; a meeting to be chaired by UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] on medical evacuation; and a meeting to be chaired by the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] on the exchange of prisoners, bodies, and information on missing persons.

After the withdrawal of forces from the demilitarized areas of Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica to the positions they held according to the agreement of 3 August 1993, a joint inspection will be conducted by 14 January 1995.

Future steps were also agreed at the meeting:

The sides will reaffirm their goal to fully implement and respect the agreements signed on 23 December 1994 and 31 December 1994 [words indistinct].

A meeting of the regional joint commission will be held on 14 January 1995 in the Bihac area in order to facilitate the implementation of the agreements signed on 23 December 1994 and 31 December 1994 and, in particular, the withdrawal of all present foreign troops as well as the setting up of observation posts.

A meeting of the regional joint commission will be held in the Livno-Kupres area in order to facilitate the agreement signed on 23 December 1994 and 31 December 1994 and, in particular, the withdrawal of all foreign troops as well as the setting up of observations posts.

It was agreed that the next meeting of the central joint commission will be held on 19 January 1994 at Sarajevo airport and that the chiefs of staff will attend it.

Gen. Rasim Delic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's General Staff, and Hasan Muratovic, president of the State Commission for Relations With the United Nations, commented on the agreement.

[Begin recording] [Delic] What is most important is the fact that we signed and agreed on the next stage regarding the implementation of the agreement. We particularly urged holding the meeting in Bihac and the opening of the blue routes.

[Muratovic] I see this agreement as progress.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you expect the blue routes to be opened by 14 January as provided by the agreement?

[Muratovic] I am almost 90 percent certain, but I believe that [words indistinct] will answer your question. [end recording]

Rose Hails 'Major Step Forward' in Talks

AU1201083295 Paris AFP in English 0023 GMT 12 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Jan 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Government and Serb military leaders shook

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hands on a settlement late Wednesday to disputes hampering their four-month ceasefire in what UN Bosnia commander General Michael Rose hailed as "a very major step forward".

Government and Serb commanders, joined by the Bosnian Croat military chief, signed a document after 10 hours of negotiations, on steps to apply the truce and on re-opening key supply roads across Sarajevo airport.

UN sources aid the parties also pledged to meet specifically on the evacuation of the sick from zones of conflict and the exchange of prisoners, as well as to work for a full peace settlement by May 1.

Gen. Rose said the airport roads, which are of enormous economic and psychological signficance for Sarajevans trapped by 33-months of war, would be re-opened to civilian traffic and humanitarian convoys by January 14.

Serb forces, whose guns are trained on one of the routes running south out of Sarajevo, had refused to authorize the re-opening of the artery until all Bosnian troops withdrew from a demilitarized zone on Mount Igman, overlooking the Bosnian capital.

In compliance with the cessation of hostilties signed with the Serbs on December 31, the mainly-Moslem Bosnian Army had agreed to evacuate the DMZ—which it seized in October—by January 4.

While most of the troops left the sector on schedule, the Army continued to occupy several positions, souring relations with the Serb military and blocking the application of the truce.

But Gen. Rose declared Wednesday, following the negotiations at Sarajevo airport: "We can certainly confirm as of this evening that the Mt. Igman demilitarized zone is clear.

"There will be an inspection there by the 14th and we will open the blue routes across the airport between now and the 14th of January."

The airport roads, closed since July, are a vital conduit for food and supplies—apart from those flown in by international relief agencies—and their restoration to civilian traffic has been eagerly awaited here.

"I believe it's a very major step forward," Rose said of Wednesday's agreement.

"I believe that what we've got today is a demonstration of the intent of all sides to make real progress down the path to peace and to achieve during this four-month period a final lasting solution to the problems of this country so that the people can return to normal civilized living."

The signatories, Generals Rasim Delic of the Bosnian Army, Ratko Mladic of the Serbs and the Bosnian Croat military chief General Tihomil Blaskic, likewise characterized the document as a step forward.

"I hope we can continue on this way to reach a political solution," said Mladic.

The agreement reached Wednesday sets out preliminary moves toward implementation of the overall ceasefire, which calls notably for the separation of the warring parties and the eventual deployment of United Nations troops between them.

"We have in hand a series of measures so that we can define the line of conflict and the establishment of observation posts," Rose said, adding that such procedures would entail joint patrols and liason officers.

"Everything that we mainly set out to achieve we have achieved," he asserted.

Rose said the agreement further dealt with the situation in the Livno area of southwestern Bosnia, where Bosnian Croats—whose political leadership signed the ceasefire on January 2—have charged Serbs with attacking their forces. But he did not elaborate.

While the truce has held throughout much of Bosnia, fighting has continued in the Bihac pocket in the northwest, principally between dissident Moslems under Fikret Abdic, backed by rebel Serbs from neighboring Croatia, and the government Army.

Neither Abdic nor the Croatian Serbs signed the cessation of hostilities. But Rose said the three parties to Wednesday's understanding would meet in Bihac in the next two days to resolve the friction there, which has unsettled the Bosnian Government and imposed severe hardship on the civilian population.

UN sources said the goal is to establish observation posts to verify the withdrawal of foreign forces from Bihac, namely the Croatian Serbs operating in the region.

Karadzic Accepts Contact Group Plan as Basis

LD1201022495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0044 GMT 12 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan. 11 [date as received] (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic said Wednesday [11 January] that the Bosnian Serb leadership accepted the 'contact group' plan as the basis for talks with the Muslims.

In an interview with the ASSOCIATED PRESS [AP], Karadzic said he agreed that the plan offered by the five-state contact group for Bosnia, which the Bosnian Serbs had formally [words indistinct], could be the basis for talks which he expected to resume soon.

He added, however, that the talks must begin by finding a solution to the problem of Sarajevo.

'If we [words indistinct] not make a good and just arrangement for Sarajevo, we would not give back any piece of land,' AP quoted Karadzic as saying.

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He said that once the division of Sarajevo was settled, the Bosnian Serbs would exchange territory northwest of the city for three eastern Bosnian Muslim towns (Srebrenica, Zepa, Gorazde), which have been designated 'safe havens' by the United Nations.

Karadzic said the Bosnian Serbs were prepared to accept maps that would differ 'just a few kilometers' from the contact group maps in some cases.

The Bosnian Serb side is also ready to give up territory in central Bosnia in order to ensure that its holdings in western and northwestern Bosnia around Banja Luka should form an economically viable unit, he said.

He said, however, that the Serbs could not agree to that part of the contact group plan which gives them only a narrow corridor through the Sava River valley to link their eastern and western territories.

The Bosnian Serbs must also have access to the Adriatic Sea, Karadzic said, and referred to a 'gentlemen's agreement' with cRoatian President Franjo Tudjman to exchange land to allow the Serbs access to the sea, said AP.

Croatia is interested in that part of Bosnian Serb territory that lies in the hinterland of the Croatian Adriatic resort of Dubrovnik.

UN Official: Belgrade Forces Active Near Bihac

AU1201082895 Paris AFP in English 0002 GMT 12 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Jan 12 (AFP)—Serbian army units from Belgrade are active in the western Bosnian Bihac enclave on the side of Croatian Serb and rebel Moslem forces, a UN official who asked to stay anonymous said here Wednesday GMT.

The official said the Yugoslav troops known as "Red Berets" were made up of "highly disciplined professional soldiers".

Their role, he said, was to command Croatian Serb forces from Krajina—the part of Croatia under Serb control—and the militias of pro-Serb local Moslem warlord Fikret Abdic.

The UN official, who cited a report by UN military observers in Bihac said Krajina Serbs had joined in Abdic's military operations against the Bosnian Army 5th corps defending the enclave.

Krajina Serbs deny having any troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina and refused to join in a ceasefire signed on December 31 by the government and Bosnian Serbs and by the Bosnian Croats on January 2.

The truce calls for all foreign troops to be withdrawn from the country.

"Their forces frequently change uniforms and insignia but they are still militarily active in the Bihac enclave," the UN official said of Krajina Serbs.

"UNPROFOR (United Nations Protection Force) has no way to make the Krajina Serbs withdraw. That withdrawal will only come about when they have achieved their military goal," the official said.

That goal, he said, was to bring the entire Bihac pocket under the control of the Bosnian Serbs under the authority of Abdic, a millionaire local businessman who rejects the regime of President Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo.

Electricity Board Sets Quotas for Consumers

AU1101204895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina power industry passed a decision to implement, commencing 17 January, a new schedule for the distribution of the available quantities of electricity. What is new is that general consumers will, as of that day, receive a continuous supply and each user will restrict his own consumption.

Households will be allowed to use a maximum of 100 kHw per month, which means that each household can only use one light bulb and one television set or radio. A precondition is that this consumption must not exceed 2 kHw per day, which means that the difference of 40 kHw up to the maximum allowed quantity of 100 kHw can be used for laundry, ironing, vacuuming, and similar chores, but only once a week. Other consumers on the low voltage grid and craftsmen are allowed to consume two-months worth of August consumption per month, continuously and proportionate to this quantity per day.

The priority users of all categories will have to bring their consumption in accord with the approved quantities, because the success of the action—100 kHw per household—also depends on them.

The use of electricity for heating and lighting of shop windows is forbidden and street lighting will be reduced to the security minimum. Regional distribution centers on the free Bosnia- Herzegovina territory, in cooperation with local communities, civilian defense offices, and municipalities, will carry out a constant vigil over the implementation of the new schedule.

Those areas that exceed the permitted quota will receive electricity for general consumption every seventh day for a duration of 24 hours. The consumers who exceed the approved quantities will be switched off, and will only be reconnected after first paying the expenses for disconnection and reconnection.

If the energy supply situation changes during the implementation of the new system of electricity reductions, consumers will be informed how much they must reduce or may increase consumption.

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Sarinic 'Quite Satisfied' at Talks With Serbs

LD1101163295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The talks between the Croatian state delegation, headed by Hrvoje Sarinic, and representatives of the Serbs from the occupied Croatian areas have ended at the UN Protection Forces base at Pleso. The talks were also attended by mediators Owen and Stoltenberg. Tihomir Vinkovic reports on the outcome of the seven-hour talks.

[Vinkovic] Sarinic said that he was quite satisfied with the talks. It was agreed that all the signs, apart from the internationally recognized ones, should be removed from the Zagreb-Lipovac Highway. As it was confirmed that mines had been removed from the northern part of the pipeline, it will be opened by 23 January. The main problem which has not been fully solved is that of which oil company will operate on the occupied areas. More talks will be held next week to discuss that and other issues concerning the implementation of the agreement of 2 December 1994, Hrvoje Sarinic said after the talks.

Tudjman: Decision on Occupied Territories Pending

LD1101174495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has received a group of artists and cultural workers at the Presidential Palace in Zagreb. The president said that cultural and artistic life would continue developing, but also spoke about affairs of the state aimed at establishing democratic authority on its entire territory. Blanka Jergovic reports:

[Jergovic] The normalization of life in the whole of Croatia, as well as the development of culture and the arts, does not entirely depend on the Croatian state authorities, the president said.

[Begin Tudjman recording] I will have to make a decision soon—probably of fateful importance for Croatia and the people. This decision will again have to be ours, and—I must say—perhaps contrary to the will of all those international forces that are arranging this world in the way that they are.

Just as we have been relying so far on experiences from our history, culture, and art, and making correct decisions in the setting up of a sovereign and democratic Croatia, the same will be done this time. I believe we will make decisions that will accelerate the resolution of the problem of our occupied territories—which is our paramount national and state objective. This will consequently create more favorable conditions for our culture, arts, and science.

I am telling you this because my personal envoys are currently visiting world capitals with the intention of presenting the position that Croatia cannot be impeded by disunity and, to an extent, not only by the contradictions between the major global and European powers but also by their disorientation, and that we will have to take steps that should—I hope—even accelerate the peace process, the resolution of Croatia's occupied regions, and the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Nevertheless, all historic decisions instill a dose of uncertainty and entail risks, but it is up to us who are performing such duties not to shy away from making decisions we deem to be in the interest of the Croatian people and the Croatian state.

However, I believe that the set of historic circumstances is such as to be conducive to our taking a path resembling the one we had taken when we began opening highways; moreover, we will probably be reopening railway lines and everything else; in other words, I believe that we will accomplish all our objectives in a peaceful way. But, we must be ready for other means in order to finalize the setting up of a democratic Croatia on its entire territory and at the same time remain the mainstay of the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

Firm About UN Mandate

LD1101181195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1747 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb, Jan. 11 (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has received U.N. Security Council and 'Contact Group' ambassadors and informed them of Croatia's intentions regarding the U.N. mandate.

Well-informed diplomatic sources have said Tudjman was firm when he said Croatia would no longer extend hospitality to the U.N. peacekeepers, whose mandate expires on Mar. 31 this year.

Croatian Parliament Speaker Vladimir Seks has said on Croatian television that Croatia will 'most likely' deny hospitality to the peacekeepers.

Seks said that did not mean Croatia would deny hospitality to a new U.N. mandate, 'one that would have the authority and means to impose peace.'

He said that meant the United Nations should 'apply all U.N. Security Council resolutions through force and threats', meaning, he said, the 'integration of the occupied territories into Croatia's constitution order.'

The U.N. peace keepers arrived in Croatia in 1992 on the basis of a peace plan by international mediator Cyrus Vance, until a political solution was found to relations between Croatia and the republic of Serb Krajina.

The peacekeepers are posted largely in the republic of Serb Krajina, set up by the Serbs in Croatia in 1991, after Croatia launched a war of secession from the former Yugoslavia and removed Serb national rights from the Croatian constitution.

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Croatia launched four military offensives since the arrival of the peacekeepers.

The U.N. mandate has been extended several times, as, in addition to the Mar. 1994 ceasefire agreement and Dec. 1994 agreement normalizing economic relations, a political solution to relations between Zagreb and Knin, the Krajina capital, has not been found.

Akashi: Council To Decide on UNPROFOR

LD1101192495 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hrvoje Sarinic held talks with Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, Deputy UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] Commander Major General Ray Crabbe, and Albert Turot, the head of the EU [European Union] observer mission. They discussed the implementation of the agreement on economic relations between Croatia and Krajina and UNPROFOR's mandate.

[Correspondent] I am satisfied with the implementation of the agreement on economic relations, especially with the opening of the Zagreb-Lipovac Highway and the progress made in the reopening of the pipeline and the reestablishing of the electricity supply, Akashi said. We set the final deadlines for the water supply system and railways. But we are still dissatisfied with the implementation of the pilot program for the return of refugees. The most important work is still ahead—the political agreement. Asked by a journalist what UNPROFOR's prospects in Croatia are, Akashi said:

[Begin Akashi recording in English fading to Serbo-Croatian translation] I cannot answer your question completely because this issue is being decided on in the Security Council, on the basis of the UN secretary general's recommendations. We are preparing the secretary general's report, which will be submitted to the Security Council. As you know, your government wanted to have a report on the progress of our work. The final deadline is 20 January, nine days from now. The report will contain everything we have achieved so far and the work that remains to be done. [end recording]

General Bobetko Says Army Ready To Fight

AU1101112695 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec-1 Jan 95 pp 10,11

[Interview with General of Croatian Army Janko Bobetko by Aleksandar Milosevic; place and date not given: "We Are Not Threatening, We Are Warning"]

[FBIS Translated Text] What is the situation in the Croatian Army? Is it able to liberate every part of the temporarily occupied territory, if necessary? How does Croatia obtain weapons? Does the Croatian Army have developed international contacts and relations?

These and many other questions are a part of our interview with Army General Janko Bobetko, chief of staff at the Croatian Army Supreme Headquarters. The leading army operative of Croatia agreed to give us an interview without asking to see our questions in advance. By the way, this is General Bobetko's first interview for VJESNIK.

[Milosevic] General Bobetko, could you give us a brief outline of the most important events for the Croatian Army in 1994?

[Bobetko] With regard to the Croatian Army, the year that is drawing to a close had two pivotal segments. One was to prevent the violation of Croatian integrity on the territory controlled by the Croatian army. A sizable part of that territory was liberated and integrated into Croatia through a series of actions in the course of 1992 and 1993. The public was informed about those actions, which were carried out from the north to the south, including the breaking of the blockade of Dubrovnik itself. The public also knows about operations that reached as far south as Dubrovnik, in the area around Maslenica, and about the operation "Medacki Dzep." Those operations warned the aggressor that Croatia is able to strike back on its own, even though the aggressor may consider its military conquest and victory definite.

In short, summing up the year 1994, we must emphasize that the Croatian Army strengthened all points it had previously seized and that the enemy had absolutely no chance of winning them back. Although there were provocations and attempts to change the situation on the battlefield in the course of 1994, that did not happen....

We Proved Our Efficiency

[Milosevic] In 1994, the Croatian Army organized two major military field exercises.

[Bobetko] That was the second pivotal segment that I wanted to discuss. The Croatian Army focused on advanced training and professional improvement with regard to both the operative and tactical aspect of all army levels. We worked especially hard on training our officers and on intensive preparations in making our army an important factor in preserving the integrity and security of the Republic of Croatia. Some of our achievements were presented at those field exercises and they were attended by representatives of many embassies in Croatia. The Croatian public was also informed about those exercises through the media. I must point out that some aspects of those exercises were not seen in any similar exercises of other armies. Those military field exercises are an important step toward the successful joint activities of all corps of the Croatian Army. They were highly acclaimed by foreign spectators.

[Milosevic] Much has been done with regard to military education and training as well. What were the most important achievements in the field in 1994?

[Bobetko] For successful joint activities we need an efficient system of education and training of officers, technical and other preparations. It will take time to

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achieve such unity in action and, as you know, we cannot afford to lose any time in this war. Given such a limited period of time, we managed to upgrade the entire Croatian Army in 1994, so that it is now capable of performing even the most complex operations. The "Poseidon" exercise is a case in point. We used live ammunition, which is challenging enough for armies with a longer tradition and better technology than ours, but it all went fine, and the exercise was a shining example of efficiency of the Croatian Army. The Croatian Army showed an enviable degree of self-assurance in combat. We did not sleep through 1994, but used it as best we could. As the year draws to a close, I think I can say that the Croatian Army is ready to carry out its duty. In the course of this year, our units, command, and the army in general polished its training and organization. [Milosevic] You speak highly of the army's organization and personnel. But there is no army without weapons. The arms embargo imposed on Croatia by the international community is still effective. Did Croatia develop the production of everything a modern army needs?

[Bobetko] Rapid progress has been made with regard to that. Anyway, Croatia has always had a developed economy and industry. Needless to say, even as far back as Austria-Hungary, Croatian trade and industry were an important factor in the life of the Habsburg Empire. In the former Yugoslavia, too, Croatia was the most developed republic with regard to economy and industry, although Belgrade and greater-Serbian elements of that time did their best to arrest its development. They did it in many ways. Among other things, they availed themselves of Croatia's national income and economy. Some data show that, from 1945 to 1990, they managed to take more than $120 billion from the economy of Croatia, which is a staggering sum.

However, regardless of all that, the Croats proved that they are a hard-working, able, and inventive nation. From the very beginning of the aggression, many individuals and firms have offered their services for the production of weapons and military equipment that Croatia did not have. Furthermore, many Croatian emigrants who gathered experience, established connections, and acquired an enviable reputation abroad, came to Croatia offering their services and assistance. They came not only to collect money and other material necessary for defending Croatia. They offered their knowledge. However, circumstances at the beginning of the aggression against Croatia were such that we did not have enough time or money to organize the serious production of weapons, ammunition, and other military technology. We could do that only when there were no direct military conflicts, when the aggressor's penetration was halted.

And finally, may I remind you that the decree of Supreme Commander of the Croatian Army President Franjo Tudjman ordained that a military-technological council be established with the goal of improving the military industry, scientific and technological development of the Croatian Army. We cannot afford not to plan ahead. We will continue to rely on scientific, industrial, and all other potentials of Croatia, but we will also rely on Croatian emigration. Some people came offering their help, but were unfortunately turned down due to bureaucratic red tape. We must put an end to the lack of understanding and willful behavior of our administration and give a chance to all creative potential.

We Know What the "Other Side" Is Doing

[Milosevic] The unjust arms embargo imposed against our country has been a major hindrance to the development of our defense. What has been done to alleviate the situation?

[Bobetko] At this moment, Croatia is capable of producing almost everything necessary to equip its units and army in general. From tanks to side arms. We are cautioning international factors that the ban on importing weapons, the legal procurement of defense technology, is unfair toward Croatia and its people, since the other side is not suffering under an embargo. We know that ships and barges are reaching Novi Sad on the Danube and that weapons for Serbia come from former East Germany. We demand stricter control of the Danube; it is not the Atlantic Ocean, it should not be that difficult to control traffic on a river.

However, things being as they are, Croatia must not sit idle. Many firms and factories in Croatia minister to the needs of the Croatian Army. Their work, production, technological innovations, and everything that has been happening in Croatia are of paramount importance to the Croatian economy in general, since many things used in military production can be applied to other, civilian purposes. And that means that the economy of Croatia stands better chances of quicker development.

We must not forget that a country cannot be free without a strong economy. Let us not beat about the bush. At the beginning of the aggression against Croatia, when the greater-Serbian JNA [Yugoslav National Army] used all available means to crush Croatia, very few people believed Croatia would survive. However, in spite of gloomy predictions of many political and military analysts, we survived, stopped the aggression, and liberated most of the country. For four years now we have defied an army that is allegedly the third or fourth most powerful military force in Europe.

[Milosevic] The Croats, especially the Croatian economy, science, and industry, had no other choice but to take things into their own hands.

[Bobetko] Croatia has a front line that is more than 1000 kilometers long. That requires enormous quantities of weapons, ammunition, and technology. We produced most of it ourselves and will produce even more. We did not want this war, it was imposed on us. We will now use all available scientific, industrial, and other possibilities

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to produce whatever is necessary for our defense. I must say that most initiatives for the production of weapons and military technology have come from Croatian factories, from Croatian experts.

[Milosevic] Regarding the level of equipment of the Croatian Army, military technology at its disposal, we come to a sensitive question. The reintegration of Croatian occupied areas can be carried out in two ways: through quiet political negotiations and agreements, and through a military option. Opponents of the military option among other things warn that such a solution would entail more destruction and more victims in Croatia, for many Croatian towns and vital areas are within range of Serbian missiles. On the other hand, many foreign observers and analysts contend that, in the case of a new conflict, targets on the territory of the so-called FRY, in Serbia and Montenegro, could also be the targeted by similar weapons, those Croatia has at its disposal. If it is not a military secret, could you tell us whether those foreign observers and analysts are right?

There Was a Great Deal of Speculation

[Bobetko] You see, we have been subject to intelligence observation for a long time. Both our enemies and our friends assessed and are still assessing Croatia's potential and ability. Many have openly stated that Croatia was not capable of liberating its occupied areas. They said we neither had the power nor ability to do such a thing. Some even said that Croatia was forced to sign certain agreements and make certain concessions. You can hear that in Croatia too, even from parliamentary deputies.

On the other hand, some contend that we could have exercised the military option already in 1992, that we should have attacked all army centers at once, waged an all-out war. Had the political and military leadership of Croatia decided to follow the advice of some Croatian analysts in 1992, we would have fallen into the greater-Serbian aggressor's trap. What was our situation at that time?

Croatia was not yet an internationally-recognized country. Only Yugoslavia existed with its connections abroad, diplomacy, its media offensive, and enormous military potential. If we had then openly attacked army centers, the world would not have been on Croatia's side, regardless of the legitimate and historical right of every nation to live on its national territory. The political and military leadership of Croatia were very wise not to have fallen in that trap. Instead, they moved slowly and prudently toward its ultimate goal: the creation of an internationally-recognized Croatian state. Everything else would have been fatal for the Croatian nation.

[Milosevic] Is it your opinion that the political decisions of the Croatian leadership were wise and correct?

[Bobetko] International factors disregarded the fact that the Croats had their own country already 1000 years ago, that they were one of the oldest nations of Europe, with a long national and nation-building history. I know for a fact that many military and intelligence analysts predicted that, once the JNA launched a full- scale attack on Croatia, the war would be over in 20 days and Croatia would be crushed. However, when that did not happen, when the JNA suffered a defeat at Vukovar, regardless of the fact that it seized the town, when Croatia was being defended on all fronts, when they realized that the Croats could not be destroyed, that they were hanging on and fighting—those international factors deviated from their strategy.

Those were extremely hard times. In 1993, things started changing even more quickly, and many people in Belgrade realized that their dream of the so-called greater Serbia was nothing but a myth and that Croatia could win the war. We liberated our part of the Adriatic, thwarting their plan to cut Croatia into several parts, at Dubrovnik, Zadar, and elsewhere. Those were historic accomplishments and history will reflect that.

The Croats Had Faith in Themselves

[Milosevic] You yourself took part in those historic events. Would you tell us about that period?

[Bobetko] Let me tell you something from personal experience. Now when I reflect upon some decisions I made in the war, I cannot quite explain why I decided that way and not some other way. Looking back on my decisions as a professional and a soldier, they did not have good prospects. Still, I made those decisions and our actions were successful. I think the human factor was our strong point. Croatia believed in its people and they in turn believed in the Croatian state and its institutions.

Before you came to interview me, I met with commanders of the First Guards Brigade called "The Tigers." With them, with the Fourth Guards Brigade, as well as with parts of the Second Guards Brigade, I fought this war, shared good things and bad. I know who those men are and what they are capable of doing to defend the historical right of the Croats to their sovereignty, existence, and Croatian state. Together we defeated the JNA. Men we would now have to fight against in the occupied areas are, pardon my language, nothing but chicken-thieves. The Germans have a good expression, they say it is a "worn-out" army....

You see how important it was to be patient and not to rush making imprudent decisions....

A Sign of Croatian Determination

[Milosevic] Still, I would like to get a more specific answer.

[Bobetko] Let me level with you. Today, no one, that is, fewer and fewer people, say that Croatia could not succeed using the military option. However, that could not be further from the truth. As soon as we move one of our units from one part of the country to another, international factors get alarmed, there are speculations

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that Croatia is preparing for an offensive. If you make threats with an empty gun, some believe you and some do not. But when Croatia says it will cancel the UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] mandate if it does not start implementing Security Council resolutions, that is a sign of Croatian determination and a sign that it is running out of patience. We showed we were willing to cooperate, made quite a few peace-promoting moves, and the cancellation of the UNPROFOR mandate is not a decision to wage war but a logical end to something that would tax the patience of any nation. Naturally, we would not opt for something like that if we were not aware that there is no other way. We can respond to any assault on the Croatian state territory in an efficient manner and reach whatever goal we decide.

But let me get back to UNPROFOR. If we canceled its mandate, it would be a sign that we have crossed the Rubicon of political patience that Croatia neither can nor will neglect. It is beside the point how many victims this decision will claim. We still favor peace, as policy and norms accepted by every civilized nation are much more effective. But all things must come to an end, we cannot go backward. If we are put in a situation in which all agreements acknowledged by the world and signed by the international community are in vain, if the world does not play its part, Croatia will do it alone. That is the sovereign right of every country defending its integrity.

I Categorically Deny Allegations

[Milosevic] General Bobetko, you mentioned that Croatian Army officers are educated at the Military Academy. Speaking of officers, I would appreciate your shedding light on a problem that has been the focus of attention of a part of the Croatian public: former JNA officers that now serve in the Croatian Army. Those are educated officers whom, some claim, Croatia renounced too readily. It is also said that a number of generals and other officers were forced to retire. Furthermore, rumor has it that it was done before an adequate professional replacement was found. Is there such a problem?

[Bobetko] I will gladly answer this question, as I know that it has been abused for political purposes. Those are malicious speculations of petty politicians. You will remember that the Croatian president invited all former JNA officers to join the Croatian Army and guaranteed that they would be given the same rank, equal promotion chances, and everything else professional soldiers were given in a country at war. Those who went over to the Croatian Army were given a corresponding rank and function. They were all given a historic chance to place their national awareness and expertise at the disposal of the Croatian nation.

Something very important happened at that time. Many young men with no formal military education but with great enthusiasm performed duties that usually require years of professional training. Those young men did a splendid job carrying out their assignments and they could do so only because their soldiers had absolute faith in them. Many members of the Croatian Army seized that moral and psychological moment to impose their authority and knowledge. Consequently, I assure you that we did not have a special policy toward former JNA officers. I categorically deny those allegations.

Everybody Decided for Themselves

[Milosevic] Some of those who were replaced spoke out in the media claiming that they fell victim to political decisions.

[Bobetko] Nonsense. Everybody is partly responsible for their own position and for what happened. Croatia must be defended openly and publicly. Croatian soldiers and the Croatian nation will hear of nothing else. That was intentional gerrymandering. Some resorted to speculation, but I should be fair and say that most former JNA officers responded to the historic challenge and events and gave their full contribution to Croatian defense. On the other hand, speculators made their own assessments and were crushed by those events, so to speak. You see, one cannot afford to be sentimental in a life-and-death struggle. This is a once-in-a- lifetime opportunity to take part in creating our own country, so if you miss the boat....

Those who kept our struggle alive and made some things happen in this war were young men, even uneducated individuals who proved and showed how the war should be fought. There was no other policy. Unfortunately, some of our men worked against the interests of Croatia and the Croats. I do not want to get into that, but some people whom we trusted had to be replaced because of their actions, because they betrayed our trust, and because they worked in the interest of the other side.

[Milosevic] General Bobetko, let me ask you the following in concluding this interview. 1995 will obviously see the outcome with regard to the most important task of the Croatian state—the reintegration of occupied areas. If it cannot be achieved in a peaceful manner, do you think the Croatian Army is prepared to fulfill this historic task? What is your opinion?

[Bobetko] This question calls for several secondary questions. First of all, whether Croatia exhausted all measures and norms in warning the world about its duty. Secondly, whether it did everything in the system it is developing in these trying circumstances to show the world the vision of the future for Croatia, what kind of Croatia we want, and what our country will become. And thirdly, whether it abused or rejected any peace- promoting chances offered to it. If our answer to all of those questions is that Croatia, in this painstaking and fierce struggle for sovereignty, used every possible means of solving the problem in a peaceful manner and that it is still doing it now, and is sending a warning to the world—the latest memorandum of President Tudjman to the Croatian Parliament talks about that—then we can consider both options with a clear and open mind.

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But let me remind you that President Tudjman's memorandum makes it clear that Croatia is not and does not intend to become an imperial force that needs war or the historic role of a superpower. On the contrary, we are doing everything we can to arouse the conscience of Europe and the world, to prevail upon them to do their best to stop that absurd war on the brink of the 21st century that is using genocide to conquer the historical and national territory of other nations.

[Box 1, p 11]

I Am Still Optimistic, I Believe in Peace

[Milosevic] If a peaceful solution is not found, is the Croatian Army prepared to fulfill its historic task and take control of Croatian occupied areas? Could you comment on that as the general of the army?

[Bobetko] We are warning against the war that uses genocide to deprive other nations of their culture and history. All relevant international factors, from the United Nations to other institutions, are aware of that. Given such a ratio of powers and considering the circumstances, Croatia had to break a deadlock and warn the world that it must do its historic and national duty. I am still optimistic and I believe there will be peace in 1995 for two reasons. Firstly, the world will probably realize that it is their obligation to stop the war and, secondly, that Croatia is capable of fighting for its rights. This is not a threat, this is a warning, so that nobody can tell us: "You could have done it differently...."

We did everything to find a different solution, a peaceful one. But everybody should know that we have the strength to solve it differently. That is how things stand and it is our national and historic task. I think we are well-prepared for such a possibility.

[Box 2, p 11]

Growing Reputation of Croatia

[Milosevic] General Bobetko, could you comment on international cooperation with and international position of Croatia with regard to military matters? Several important documents were signed and in the course of 1994 and there were a number of contacts with military delegations of many countries. A Memorandum on Military and Defense Cooperation was signed with the United States. What can you tell us about that document?

[Bobetko] As the international position and reputation of Croatia were improving, we had more and more international military contacts. I think we can be pleased with regard to that. As for the Memorandum we signed with the United States, it is also indicative of Croatia's reputation and standing in the world. As you know, the document was signed by Defense Minister Gojko Susak and U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry.

A part of the Memorandum, i.e. of what we agreed on, is already being implemented in Croatia. U.S. teams and individual trainers have already come to Croatia to teach at the Croatian Military Academy. We want to use and apply the knowledge and experience of developed countries, though our basic concept of patriotism still remains. That is our fundamental doctrine and we can build on that.

[Milosevic] How does the United States view the Memorandum?

[Bobetko] During my recent visit to the United States, I met with the army chief of staff, General Shalikashvilli. The Memorandum has his full support and he entrusted it to some very important U.S. generals. Croatia will use their services and expertise to train its military personnel consistently and wisely. But let me emphasize that the doctrine of the patriotic war remains the backbone of our defense. The rest will supplement it and make it even better.

Interior Minister Views Crime, Police Duties

AU0901193795 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 94-1 Jan 95 p 11

[Interview with Interior minister Ivan Jarnjak by Darko Djuretek and Dusan Miljus; place and date not given: "The Police Will Come to the Croatian Borders"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The opening of the highway between Zagreb and Belgrade, the security situation during 1994, the functioning of the constitutional state, and the role of the police in the reintegration of the UN Protected Areas [UNPA] are only some of the current issues we discussed with Mr. Ivan Jarnjak, the minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Croatia, in an interview for VECERNJI LIST. The Croatian police carried out several large-scale actions during 1994, the most significant of which was the arrival of Pope John Paul II in Croatia, followed by the "TURS Action" and the "Mir i dobro" [Peace and Prosperity] action presently under way [not further specified]. Apart from discussing the role of the police, Minister Jarnjak also discussed some of the significant characteristics of crime in 1994. [passage omitted]

[VECERNJI LIST] The constitutional state is a notion used in all possible contexts. How do you see the role of the police in the development and protection of the constitutional state?

[Jarnjak] The notion of the constitutional state is really used every day; it is also used in daily politics. It is used by experts whenever they want to define the general safety and the functioning of the state acoording to the Constitution in a particular country. It is used in Croatia, too.

As far as the police are concerned, two more laws have to be passed to round up the legal framework necessary for the performance of the tasks of the Ministry of Internal

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Affairs. We have participated actively in the creation of laws from the domain of the functioning of the constitutional state so far, and we shall do so in the future, too.

I also have to say that the Ministry of Internal Affairs insists on the lawful behavior of our policemen, because correct behavior in compliance with laws and the Constitution is the basic prerequisite for the functioning of the constitutional state. What is also very important is day-to-day cooperation with judicial and other authorities, including the Public Prosecutor's Office, investigative judges, and courts. The cooperation with the finance police, customs authorities, military police and other services is also important.

It is important that all political bodies between the parliament, as the legislative body, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as the executive body, have their own autonomy and rules of the game, but it is also important that, together, they protect the state, the individual, and his privacy and property. If someone cheats you in a shop or steals something from you, and if a false sentence is passed, then this is a problem in the domain of the functioning of the constitutional state. This is one aspect of the problem.

The other aspect is that all of us who work and live in this state have to abide by the laws, and this is still a problem in Croatia. We fought for this state, we wanted it, and it is important now to respect its laws. This is a form of patriotism, too, just as it was patriotism to fight for this state. It should be an honor for every one of us to respect the laws of our state and to contribute to the functioning of the constitutional state.

[VECERNJI LIST] One of the topics mentioned frequently last year was the privatization of state-owned property. Can you comment on what the Ministry of Internal Affairs has done within its powers in this respect?

[Jarnjak] We have often discussed this topic at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This is a topic that has been mentioned and analyzed very often. We have had certain problems with it, too.

The control body used to be the SDK [Social Accounting and Auditing Service]. Parallel with the privatization of companies, this body was transformed, too, into the Financial Police and the Institute of Payment Transactions, which should have audited cash flows. The third auditing body was created according to the Law on the Privatization Fund, which should have accomplished the controls and actually did.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs acted whenever it received a solid complaint, either anonymous or signed, or a request from the public prosecutor or any other body to check into a certain matter. I presented the information that we collected to the parliament, and I can say that the number of cases we treated was relatively high. Based on our controls, some of the privatization activities were annulled and there were even arrests. In any case, the Ministry of Internal Affairs made the utmost effort to make everyone respect the laws in the privatization process.

We checked 210 socially-owned companies—69 criminal charges resulted from this—60 reports were sent to the Prosecutor's Office with a request for appropriate measures to be taken, and criminal proceedings are still under way in approximately 30 cases. No irregularities were established in 45 cases.

It was established that the examinations were justified in a large number of cases, but it was also proven that all those who generalized and said that everything was illegal were wrong. It is important to mention that we have not found any new form of crime in privatization activities. Everything had been known already; for example the abuse of office or the forging of documents.

[VECERNJI LIST] Public interest was focused on another phenomenon, too; on the eviction of tenants from apartments. It is interesting that both sides wanted to be protected by the police in such cases. How would you comment on this, and what are the powers of the police regarding this?

[Jarnjak] The powers of the police are clearly defined by the law. The police make an intervention only when court officials or other bodies responsible for solving property matters have to carry out a valid decision passed by the court or by an administrative authority. If they expect that there could be difficulties when the decision is carried out, then they call the police.

The police made over 600 interventions of this kind during 1994. In eight cases, force had to be used because the police must carry out what the executor requires of them.

We have analyzed all complaints in connection with the behavior of the police and realized that a citizen's complaint was justified in only one case. A disciplinary measure was taken against that policeman. In all other cases, the behavior of the police was in compliance with the law and with the powers the police have according to the law. The police and the Ministry of Internal Affairs must not judge whether a decision is just or not, the police must participate in the implementation of the decision if this is required by the authority in charge. And this is the case in legal eviction.

I would not like to speak about illegal eviction, because I do not approve of it, and I think that there are practically no illegal evictions, especially now. [passage omitted]

[VECERNJI LIST] Crimes like murder, drugs smuggling, and the stealing of cars are at the focus of attention. How successful have the police been in clearing up major crimes?

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[Jarnjak] There were 240 murders during 11 months of 1993. There were 146 murders in the same period of 1994. We found the murderers in 92.2 percent of all cases (we brought criminal charges against the suspects). Only a few murders have not been cleared up yet, but I believe that we shall succeed in solving them, too. This shows that there is a sharp decline in the most difficult form of crime, but it also shows that we have become more efficient.

Regarding the stealing of cars, 2,929 cars were stolen in 1993, and 1,296 cars were stolen in 11 months of 1994. It is important to mention that we found 608 cars and returned them to their owners. As far as drugs are concerned, according to the information we have, there are 10,000 registered drug addicts in Croatia, 5,000 of whom are heroin and cocaine addicts. Seven people died from drug overdoses.

[VECERNJI LIST] When we speak about crime, today, an especially serious issue is "money laundering." To what extent is the Croatian police confronted with this problem, how can it be prevented, and how would you comment on reproaches from Italy (not from official circles, admittedly) that Croatia is a refuge for "Mafiosi"?

[Jarnjak] Regarding "money laundering," I have to say that there is no Croatian law that regulates this problem, unless it is part of another crime. This means that we have to find a legal solution first to enable us to protect ourselves from this evil. There have been some cases of "money laundering," primarily through casinos. It was a very simply and efficient way of money laundering. We stopped it, however.

Regarding the reproach that Croatia is full of "Mafiosi," this statement is not true. Between 1991 and 1994, we arrested several members of the Italian Mafia who tried to hide in Croatia, that is in Istria, and to continue their cooperation with the Mafia in Italy. We were directly involved in finding the runaway criminal Felice Maniero, about whom the Italian press wrote that his Croatian friends helped him to escape and that he found refuge on Croatian territory. Neither of these things was true.

It is possible that there are undesirable persons among the large number of people who cross the border; the Croatian border was crossed 60 million times during 1994. We are doing everything to prevent these things, we have also introduced computers at border crossings so that it takes only several seconds to discover whether a person is a wanted criminal or not.

[VECERNJI LIST] Croatia wants to change its criminal laws. What do the police expect from these changes?

[Jarnjak] We formed a team to participate in the elaboration of the two basic criminal laws: the law on the criminal procedure and the criminal code. We are primarily interested in solutions proposed that would regulate the behavior of the police. Changes regarding the pretrial procedure, when the police are obliged to take measures to find the person who committed a crime are also of of special interest. There are measures that have been accepted in the world such as the use of informants, tracing, shadowing, the bugging of conversations; and if they are ordered by a court these measures can be used as evidence in court. We want the new laws to be made in a way that does not violate human rights and privacy, but enables the police to work efficiently in the struggle against crime at the same time.

[VECERNJI LIST] One of the inevitable topics is bugging. Who is bugged by the police, and when?

[Jarnjak] I hear such stories, too. It seems to be very popular to say during a phone conversation: "Take care of what you say, we are certainly bugged!" This is nonsense that should be rejected.

The law states clearly that bugging can be used only if the constitutional order is violated. There is no political bugging. This ministry makes special reports for the Parliamentary Committee of Internal Politics, which controls whether the Ministry of Internal Affairs acts according to the law. It is certain that this Committee would have already reacted if there had been illegal actions. We are only interested in those persons who want to violate or destroy the constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia. Such a person deserves to be bugged.

[VECERNJI LIST] How much is the public allowed to know about negative aspects of the police, and how do you solve this problem? How do you see the relation between the people and the police?

[Jarnjak] As far as complaints and negative aspects of the police are concerned, we have formed a service associated to the Minister's Office, the only task of which is to control whether the behavior of the police is legal. Every complaint is examined, and a report written, which is consequently discussed at the meeting of the police heads. If it is established that a complaint is justified, an inspection is arranged by the Ministry. We pay much attention to the correct behavior of our policemen; they should perform their duties according to the Constitution, in a friendly fashion and at a highly professional level. As far as relations with the public are concerned, I primarily think that the people have to be informed about a certain event correctly and on time; this is one of the basic tasks of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This is how manipulations and half-truths can be prevented. There is no hiding in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and there will be no hiding because things cannot be hidden for a long time—for two days perhaps, and this does not pay. [passage omitted]

[box, p 11]

About Drugs—With Measure

Alone and in cooperation with other European police, we seized 9.5 kg of cocaine and 10 kg of high-quality heroin

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in 1994. The problem of drugs must be neither underestimated nor overestimated. If we overestimate this problem, we could send a message to the world that does not correspond to the real situation. I would like to ask you who would then let a young man from another European country come to Croatia? It is not good to exaggerate this problem because Croatia is a tourist country.

[box, p 11]

We Shall Bring Peace and Order to the UNPA, Too

[VECERNJI LIST] The reintegration of the presently occupied Croatian territories into its constitutional system is the most important issue. Many people think that the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will complete this war with this issue, just like they were the first to defend their country. If the UN Protected Forces leave, if all attempts for a peaceful solution fail, what will be the role of the Ministry of Internal Affairs units?

[Jarnjak] The Ministry of Internal Affairs will carry out the official policy and act according to laws and the Constitution. The legal order and the functioning of the constitutional state without the presence of the police is, unfortunately, not possible. The police must be present in the presently occupied territories, too.

Our units are complete, we have the people who will perform the functions according to the constitutional law that regulates this problem—and which speaks about two regions with Glina and Knin as the two regional centers. We have the people for all police stations in the presently occupied territories. We are ready to go to this territory tomorrow if a solution is found today in order to enable all people a peaceful and normal life. The police will certainly have to perform certain tasks, regardless of the solution, and it will be the police who will be on the Croatian borders, because the borders of all democratic countries are controlled by the police.

Which option will be final? We would like it to be the peaceful option.

Special Role of Hrvoje Sarinic Stressed

95BA0065A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 94 pp 8-9

[Article by Marko Barisic: "The President's Man for Special Assignments"]

[FBIS Translated Text] He avoids eye contact with the person he is talking to, he gestures with his hands, he is elegantly dressed, and he rarely conveys his private political views. Both times he has done this up to now, he has had to issue a retraction for reasons of state. The first time was when he declared to journalists in a relaxed atmosphere that "I would never sign the Zagreb agreements now," and the second time, a few days ago, following the day-long negotiations with the delegation of local Serbs, that "he will never sign purely economic negotiations unless the Serbs in the UNPAs [UN Protected Areas] also accept the political framework of the Republic of Croatia." The next afternoon he appeared before newsmen with somewhat larger bags under his eyes than usual and announced that he would sign the agreement because of a certain paper, on which at first glance there seemed to be nothing at all.

We are referring of course to Hrvoje Sarinic, who is once again the chief of staff of the president of the Republic of Croatia, and who is also head of the state commission for relations with the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces], then also head of the Croatian negotiating team with the local Serbs, and finally chairman of the board of directors of the INA oil company. Judging solely by the importance of the posts he holds, there is no question that this is a person who enjoys the president's particular confidence. When we add to that the observation of analysts that Sarinic is a member of the triumvirate (Susak, Sarinic, and Valentic), which is governing Croatia according to instructions from the president, we get the whole picture of this naturalized Frenchman, as he was called on one occasion by Sime Djodan, who was expressing the view of Sarinic that prevails in the incumbent party.

Independent of Parties

Now, Sarinic never paid too much attention to the position of the party. He bound up his entire political activity with the person of Franjo Tudjman, who is now the president of Croatia, while the latter was still an oppositionist in the barracks, and had an uncertain political future.

But even in those days he never went further in his political commitment than a note sent to Tudjman by personal courier aong with his curriculum vitae and the decision to be at his disposal. It is likely that in that period, when decisions were being made about the future destiny of Croats and the Croatian state, Sarinic showed some resemblance to his father, a dedicated Radicite, chief of Susak Opstina, who spent time in prison for his political views, and died unhappily during World War II. The Italian authorities in Rijeka at that time never completed their investigation. Just as in the case of the sudden death of the president's father, doubt remains about whether the official explanation should be accepted that these were suicides, or whether the Italian authorities were taking revenge. Some have already written that it was those personal destinies that made the strongest links between the two men. Nevertheless, it is probably something else, because there was an abundance of such cases during and after the war.

"Dr. Tudjman is my employer; he makes all the decisions, and it is up to me to be disciplined in doing my job," Sarinic has said and has repeated in several versions, and this statement is actually his political credo. It is also in fact a reflection of his career, which reached its peak whenever he headed a construction project,

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whether it was a nuclear power plant in South Africa, nuclear experiments in Polynesia, or conventional construction work in Morocco. He was a good organizer who applied someone else's ideas in practice, sticking to the deadlines and the blueprints.

That experience, accuracy, consistency, and respect for what was agreed are what probably impressed the Croatian president most, since he wanted to instill the Western business spirit into the structures of government.

Sarinic's 30-year experience in France, where he had gone for a stay of three months, probably impressed Tudjman, and within his own party he has fought to keep him in posts where he needed someone he trusted. Sarinic silently went to Knin for talks with Martic, although he did not want to go; he had talks with Mikelic at the Pleso airport, where he raised his voice; and he chatted pleasantly with Milosevic in secret meetings, attempting to learn Belgrade's position concerning Knin.

The State as a Corporation

When meetings had to be organized with the U.S., French, or Italian presidents, or with the pope, again it was Sarinic who pulled stringsdating from his period as a Gostarbeiter. It has become established custom in the top government leadership to play regular tennis matches(there is still no golf course), since in the world of business and politics that is the easiest way to conduct business (soccer, according to him, belongs to the newcomers of the political elite).

With his degree in construction engineering, his long educational career (10 years), with his rapid advancement in his career (he began as a draftsman), with his financial situation assured (he has houses in Zagreb, Postire on Brac, and in Turopolje), and with command of three foreign languages (English, French, and Italian), Sarinic certainly has a special place on the political team now in office. He was never a communist, nor did he get into political trouble; he does not distinguish himself now by emphasizing his Croatianism; he does not have his own political base (that is, it consists of the person of Dr. Tudjman), so that assessments are not far off which consider him a bureaucrat, a technocrat, a man who will do a solid job of what ever is assigned him, while the party is for him something secondary.

Nor has he stood out in conflicts between parties, even though he has been at the very top of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union]. He has spent his entire working life within large corporations, so that today, one hears, he treats the state as though it were a corporation fighting for its survival and its space, just as a corporation will fight with another corporation for a new market. It was noticeable during the recent negotiations with the Serbs that he was in his element when the talk turned to oil. He proposed establishment of joint oil companies that would supply this product to the market of the UNPAs. At first the Serbs agreed, and then later, when the meaning of this was explained to them, they rejected it. It is said that as chairman of the board of directors of INA Sarinic actually controls oil routes in and around Croatia.

SuperHrvoje

But Sarinic has also had his failures. Even before he became involved in politics, when he was a representative of the French nuclear industry in Zagreb, he lobbied for construction of a nuclear power plant at Prevlaka, near Zagreb. As prime minister (1992) he favored building a nuclear power plant in Dalmatia, it order to solve once and for all the problem of that region's shortage of electric power. It did not go through. The business concerning sale of Dalmacijacement to the Italians, however justified by reasons of state, nevertheless hurt him. He was one of the most unpopular Croatian prime ministers. His tenure saw the highest level of inflation and the largest drop in the standard of living. In the political sphere people have a hard time forgiving him for his assessment that today he would not sign the Zagreb Agreements. And his statement about a small expanded Serbia, however realistic it might have been, has also had negative repercussions.

As director of the Agency for Protection of the Constitutional Order, he represented documents already made public as secret and still unknown, which is a sign that his organization is operating poorly in this area.

In fact he operates best on the political scene as the spokesman of the president's positions and as an organizer of the administrative staff. That is why his job as chief intermediary between official Zagreb and the Serbs in the UNPA and the UNPROFOR is the most suitable one. But his main ambition is nevertheless INA, since oil is a worldwide business, and Sarinic's managerial spirit has always tended in that direction. Politics is for him only a means of arriving at that position, especially since the process of privatization will soon reach even the large Croatian firms.

Meanwhile, Sarinic can thank Tudjman for everything he represents in Croatian politics. Without his support, the HDZ would have gotten rid of him long ago, and in the other parties he would have to fight to get ahead. He does not need to do that now, and he is left enough time for all the jobs he has taken on. His importance, as well as the importance of his statements, lie in the fact that it is clear the President Tudjman mainly stands behind them. Thus, Sarinic sometimes resembles the hero in the new Croatian comic strip. SuperHrvoje is a Croatian soldier who easily solves all the problems with the enemy. That is how it will continue to be so long as the comic strip is published, that is, so long as Sarinic is carrying out Tudjman's policy.

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Federal

Milosevic Meets Contact Group Representatives

LD1101191095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1814 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, today received the Contact Group which included representatives from Russia, the United States, France, Great Britain, and Germany.

The talks concentrated on the present situation and the course of the peace process regarding former Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as on further efforts aimed at the successful conclusion of the peace process, the cabinet of the Serbian president reported.

President Milosevic stressed that the maintenance of the cessation of hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the agreement set out in Article 2 of the Carter document, which was approved by the assembly of the [Bosnian] Serb republic—that the Contact Group plan, in all its articles, is the basis for the continuation of the peace process—are opening up prospects for successful peace talks. As a result, at this juncture the most important thing is that the Contact Group take a fair-minded attitude to all sides in the conflict, or rather that the conflicting sides are treated equally by the international community, and this is why it is very important that the Contact Group conduct talks simultaneously in Sarajevo and in Pale.

The four-month cessation of hostilities is a short time, which it is vital to use effectivel. Thus, in the opinion of President Milosevic, it is essential to conduct negotiations on all elements at the same time so as to achieve agreement in the shortest possible time on the peace plan as a whole.

The undoubted strengthening of the forces of peace and the general tendencies toward a peaceful solution to the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina provide reasons for optimism regarding the success of the peace process, it was said at today's meeting between President Milosevic and members of the Contact Group.

The members of the Contact Group informed President Milosevic of the united standpoint of the group regarding the extension of the easing of sanctions and their united stance in connection with deliveries of gas to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the statement says.

Contact Group 'Satisfied'

LD1101205995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2045 GMT 11 Jan 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan. 11 (TANJUG)—Senior officials of the five-state "Contact Group" for Bosnia said Wednesday they were satisfied with their two-hour meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

The officials of Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany that make up the Contact Group met with Milosevic in the afternoon.

Meeting the press briefly after the talk, Aleksandr Zlotov of Russia said he was satisfied with the talk which had related to the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina and which he described as constructive.

German representative Michael Steiner also said the meeting had been constructive and related to questions of peace for Bosnia.

Steiner said that now the agreement for a four-month cessation of hostilities was in place, the Contact Group expected all Bosnian sides to honor it, and would act in the future on the basis of the acceptance of its plan as the point of departure.

He said the Contact Group would be leaving for Sarajevo on Thursday for a meeting with Bosnian Muslim officials, and would also be visiting the Bosnian Serb center of Pale.

Conference on Minorities in Yugoslavia Opens

LD1101180895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan. 11 (TANJUG)—An international scientific conference on the 'Position of Minorities in Yugoslavia' opened here Wednesday.

Member of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences Milos Macura said at the opening of the conference that the conference would contribute to a better understanding of the minority issue and to the maintenance of peace in this troubled region.

The conference is staged by the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences' social sciences department and the academy's newly set up inter-departmental committee for minority and human rights studies.

The conference gathers about 80 scientists from Yugoslavia, Sweden, Italy, Switzerland, the United States, Great Britain, Bulgaria, Hungary and other countries.

Macura, who chairs the inter-departmental committee, said the conference constituted the possibility of bringing together different schools and lines of thinking about the minority problem and human rights in Yugoslavia and that this would contribute to a more complete understanding of these problems.

The conference also brought together representatives of 15 of a total of about 20 minority communities in Yugoslavia—Romanians, Slovakians, Muslims, Goranci (ethnic Albanians of Catholic faith), Romanies, Tzintzars, Wallachians, Bulgarians, Russians, Ruthenians, Hungarians and Jews—including representatives

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of so-called 'new minorities' created after the secessions of the former Yugoslav republics.

Macura said he regretted that no papers related to the ethnic Albanian community in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and in Yugoslavia were submitted to the conference and that there were no ethnic Albanian colleagues from Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija, although the committee had more than once tried to secure both the former and the latter.

Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences President Aleksandar Despic said the national minorities' position in the world today constituted one of the most sensitive issues in the domain of human relations and freedoms.

Despic said it was necessary that these problems be resolved in Yugoslavia in keeping with the current civilizational standards and in a fashion which would serve as a model to other countries.

Despic said, 'the conference will help draw a line between mystifications extensively propagated by some mass media and real problems of relations among social communities of different origin, language and culture who have to live together.'

He said that 'the conference should also tell the truths, to come out with them to the world and to pave the way for true solutions to problems where they exist.'

The academy's social sciences department secretary Kosta Mihailovic said the conference was held at a time of an influx and outflow of refugees from the former Yugoslavia, seething political passions, the presence of many ideologies on the social stage and the abuse of national minorities for propaganda purposes.

Mihailovic said he hoped the conference would contribute to the truth about the position of national minorities in Yugoslavia and the best possible solutions in the respective domain.

Yugoslav Minister Without Portfolio Margit Savovic said that about 20 national minorities accounted for a practically unmatched diversity of cultures and traditions in Yugoslavia.

The conference will unfold in four sessions and discuss the topics of 'the identity of minority communities in Yugoslavia', 'the state, democracy and minorities', 'international aspect of minorities' position and protection' and 'multiculturalism and minorities'.

Serbia

Government Cuts First Quarter Expenditures

LD1101185395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1835 GMT 11 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan. 11 (TANJUG)—Serbia's Government on Wednesday decided to cut by 15.2 percent the planned budget expenditures for the first quarter of the year.

A Serbian Government statement said the decision was taken to facilitate the implementation of the Yugoslav programme of monetary restructuring and economic recovery.

The statement said the Serbian Government had cut the budget expenditures for the January-March period of this year from the planned 1,248 billion dinars to 1,060 billion at a session chaired by Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic.

Serbia has planned no deficit in its annual budget of 4,995 billion dinars (about 3,125 billion dollars) for this year.

The statement said the cuts in budget expenditures would not affect pension and oedical care funds since the government decision would be implemented selectively and budget fund recipients would be obliged to rationalize their spending.

The statement said the Serbian Government would request of municipal authorities and compulsory social security organizations to rationalize their spending in the first quarter of 19.5.

The Yugoslav Government had on Friday decided to cut federal budget expenditures by 10 percent for the first quarter of the year, with a view to keeping public spending in line with economic trends.

The federal government said the cuts, coupled with stable prices, would significantly contribute to a consistent implementation of the economic recovery programme.

The Yugoslav Government has planned no deficit in its annual budget of 2,128 billion dinars (about 1.4 billion dollars) for this year so that the stability of the national currency and prices would be maintained.

Montenegro

Comprehensive Broadcasting Law in Preparation

LD1201104295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0834 GMT 12 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Podgorica, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—Montenegro is preparing its first comprehensive law on radio broadcasting, which should be ready in the second quarter of this year. It will "take on" the best solutions in this field from other countries.

Abaz Dzafic, an independent adviser in the republic's information secretariat, stresses that broadcasting plans in Montenegro are significantly different, one might say more modern, than those in Serbia and at the federal level. [passage omitted]

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Dzafic, speaking to a TANJUG correspondent in connection with the increasingly frequent requests to register private radio and television stations, said that even now, with the existing regulations, there is "good discipline" in this area.

Dzafic expressly emphasizes that the private broadcasting organizations that are currently completely legal in Montenegro are: Radio ANTENA M and Radio EIMAG, Televsion PALMA, which has been broadcasting since the end of last year and is in a trial phase in Montenegro, and Radio Panorama in Pljevlja. The procedure for their legalization has not yet been finalized. [passage omitted]

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